

The American Historical Review

THE KING'S CLOSET IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY¹

IT has long been a commonplace in the history of the cabinet and the ministerial system in England that the king dominated his privy council and carried on the government of England largely through this council; that at the beginning of the seventeenth century he was often present in this council; that later on, as he gave his most important concerns to a smaller group, the committee of the privy council for foreign affairs, he dominated this group as much as he chose to do and frequently presided over its activities and deliberations; that this continued to be so throughout the seventeenth century and that even Queen Anne, though absent from many meetings of this group of principal councilors and ministers—"the lords of the committee"—was generally present at the meetings which dealt with later stages of work or presented conclusions for the queen's approval—"the cabinet"; that after the coming of the Hanoverians, however, the sovereign soon ceased to attend cabinet meetings; and that this absence of the sovereign from these meetings gave greater power to the cabinet ministers, brought about the appearance of a prime minister, and diminished the personal authority of the sovereign.

What has been less generally realized is that for some years after 1714, even while the new dynasty was learning to understand the government of the kingdom, the king continued to take much the same part in the ruling of the realm that preceding sovereigns had taken.

¹The greater part of Professor Turner's monumental researches on the English executive in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was embodied in his two volumes on *The Privy Council of England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, 1603-1784* (Baltimore, I, 1927, II, 1928) and his two volumes on *The Cabinet Council of England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, 1622-1784* (Baltimore, I, 1930, II, ed. by G. Megaro, with an introduction by E. R. Adair, 1932). Turner died in 1929. He had planned to publish two volumes on "King, Ministers, and Parliament in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries". On this subject he had done extensive research, a part of which is contained in the present article. So far as I know, this article is the only treatment of the king's closet in print. It is hoped that most of the materials of Turner's work will eventually be published in volume form. GAUDENS MEGARO, Queens College.

In the seventeenth century the royal power had been definitely lessened by the triumphs of parliament in 1640-42 and 1689, so that the position of Charles II was very different from that of Charles I and the power of William III or Queen Anne much less than that of James I. It is true also that the mediocrity of George I and George II reduced somewhat the authority of the crown. Yet, on the whole, these sovereigns occupied approximately the position of Queen Anne, and it was not difficult for George III to govern with more power and authority than William III had possessed. It is evident that during the eighteenth century the king was constantly consulted, had constant interviews with ministers, and though not present at cabinet councils, was constantly informed of what cabinets were doing. Under George I, George II, and George III the sovereign transacted business with his ministers who met him in audience in one of the rooms, or closets, of his residence.

The history of the word "closet" is much like that of the word "cabinet". Cabinet, meaning a small room, came into English from the Latin through the French somewhat later than closet. In the seventeenth century, closet, signifying a small room, was in general use in England and was well understood to mean one of the smaller rooms in a palace or a large residence. Occasional references, which we need not detail here, show that at this time the king transacted important business in such closet as was convenient and that the privacy of the closet was especially guarded. It is only in the eighteenth century, however, that we find a significant number of references to the closet indicating its rather important character as a political "institution".

The purpose of this article is to discuss the political significance of the king's closet with special emphasis on the following topics: the importance to ministers of access to it and of influence or favor in it; the privilege of access to it; its power, particularly with the revival of royal authority under George III; the mass and heterogeneity as well as the confidential and informal character of the work done by the king and ministers in it; and instances of friction in it.

I

The importance to ministers of access to and of influence or favor in the closet is evident from numerous allusions during the eighteenth century. Even though the ministers had much greater power then and had partly displaced the king in the conduct of the government, they were still dependent on him in great measure for co-operation and support. At the beginning of the reign of George II, Lord John Hervey

wrote of Lord Wilmington, after the latter had been displaced as principal minister by Sir Robert Walpole, that Wilmington seemed to be as well satisfied to be bowing and grinning in the antechamber, possessed of a lucrative employment without credit, "as if he had been dictating in the closet, sole fountain of Court favour at home, and regulator of all the national transactions abroad".² A decade later Walpole told Hervey with respect to certain correspondence: "When the Duke of Newcastle sees these letters indorsed by the King and you in conjunction, it will put him out of humour for a week at least; he'll say you are Closet Secretary to the King, whilst he is only Office Secretary."³

Much illuminating information on the importance attached to favor in the closet during the reign of George II centers in such figures as Lord Carteret and the Duke of Newcastle. In July, 1742, Hervey says he told the king that Carteret had the credit in the closet and the name of king's minister, while William Pulteney possessed and exercised the power of both.⁴ At the same time he wrote to George II:

It is as necessary, too, to the safe and quiet conduct of Your Majesty's affairs, that you should unite in the same person the favour of your closet and the power of it. At present, the favour is all bestowed on Lord Carteret, and all the power exercised by Mr. Pulteney. This cannot last; favour and power must go on together, or neither can go on long. It is as essential, therefore, towards constituting a Minister who can subsist, to vest him with these two things, as it is to the fixing Your Majesty's own power to reunite the authority of the Crown to the name of King.⁵

A little later Hervey observed that Carteret, feeling that he had the "strength of the closet" and the confidence and favor of the king, while he was making his court by foreign politics, hated and detested Pulteney for all the trouble which Pulteney gave him in pursuing his intentions at home. On the other hand, Pulteney, knowing that he had for the present the house of commons in his hands, but seeing too plainly that though he had the "power of the closet" he had none of the favor, and that every point which he carried there was extorted, not granted, carried by force, not by persuasion, hated Carteret for engrossing that favor which Pulteney proposed at least to share, if not engross, himself.⁶

In 1743 Newcastle wrote: "I do apprehend that My Brother [Henry Pelham] does think, that His superior Interest in the Closet, & Situa-

² John, Lord Hervey, *Some Materials towards Memoirs of the Reign of King George II*, ed. by Romney Sedgwick (3 vols., London, 1931), I, 40.

³ *Ibid.*, III, 821. ⁴ Letter to the Earl of Bristol, July 5, 1742, *ibid.*, p. 945.

⁵ July 6, 1742, *ibid.*, pp. 952-53.

⁶ Letter to the Earl of Bristol, July 15, 1742, *ibid.*, p. 949.

tion in the House of Commons, gives Him great Advantage over Every Body else.”⁷ In the same year a member of the house of commons insinuated that Carteret was endeavoring to make himself absolute in the closet in order that he might afterwards make his master absolute in the kingdom.⁸

In 1744, during a debate in the commons on continuing to maintain British troops in Flanders, George Grenville said that he knew nothing about public measures, adding, “no man can, who has not an intimate correspondence with some of our ministers of the closet”.⁹ In the same year Newcastle expressed to his brother the desire that their friends would resolve jointly to show the king that he must choose between the different parties in his administration; otherwise Newcastle was determined to inform the king that since he differed with Carteret, he would resign, “for, indeed, no man can bear long, what I go through every day, in our joint audiences in the closet”.¹⁰ It was believed that Carteret had got the closet and that, when peace was made, he would not rest until he had control in domestic as well as in foreign affairs.¹¹ After the removal of Carteret, it was said he had persuaded himself “that gaining the good-will in the closet would be an invincible support”.¹² The great ascendancy he had obtained in the closet and the great contempt with which he treated all his fellow servants, by neither concerting any measures with them nor communicating measures to them, had made most of them resolve not to act with him any longer.¹³ Shortly after the Pelhams had compelled George II to dismiss Carteret and an administration according to their wishes had been formed, Newcastle wrote: “We found the closet on Friday almost as bad as ever; and I have reason to think the present resolution is, to suffer us generously to do the business this session, and to kick us out afterwards.”¹⁴ The next year Newcastle told his brother that he must

⁷ Newcastle to Hardwicke, Nov. 7, 1743, British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, 35407, f. 298.

⁸ Dec. 15, 1743, *Parliamentary History*, XIII, 388. ⁹ Jan. 11, 1744, *ibid.*, p. 401.

¹⁰ Letter of Aug. 25, 1744, William Coxe, *Memoirs of the Administration of the Right Honourable Henry Pelham, Collected from the Family Papers, and Other Authentic Documents* (2 vols., London, 1829), I, 167.

¹¹ Diary of Hugh, Earl of Marchmont, Sept. 27, 1744, *A Selection from the Papers of the Earls of Marchmont . . .*, ed. by Sir George Henry Rose (3 vols., London, 1831), I, 49.

¹² Horatio Walpole to Trevor, Dec. 21, 1744, William Coxe, *Memoirs of Horatio, Lord Walpole . . .* (2 vols., 3d ed., London, 1820), II, 104.

¹³ Horatio Walpole to Trevor, Dec. 28, 1744, *ibid.*, p. 106.

¹⁴ Newcastle to Hardwicke, Dec. 30, 1744, Coxe, *Pelham*, I, 198.

take opportunity to let the king see that Newcastle felt the behavior of his master in the closet.¹⁵

In February, 1746, the Pelham ministry resolved to resign unless they might "have the closet", without which they could not carry on the king's business.¹⁶ After the Pelhams had resigned and then returned on their own conditions, the Duke of Cumberland rejoiced that Pitt had got the post of paymaster, as that conduced to the stability of the closet.¹⁷ In October, 1746, Horatio Walpole observed that Newcastle was so jealous as not to endure a seeming preference to himself in the closet even in favor of his nearest relation.¹⁸ It was remarked at this time that the friends of the Prince of Wales were often able to turn the scale in the house of commons and so disappoint and hinder the ministry, and that then artful insinuations were conveyed to the closet to lay the disappointment to the ministers, to their weakness and want of ability.¹⁹

In 1747 it was noticed that Pelham was very much distressed by having to defend measures of which he disapproved and to ask all the disagreeable things of the king, since the Duke of Newcastle lived by the royal favor in the closet and would ask nothing that was disliked there.²⁰ The next year the Duke of Bedford reported that he had just said all he could for a certain proposition in the closet, though the king seemed as yet somewhat averse from it.²¹ In 1752 Newcastle declared that it was a little hard to be buffeted by the king in the closet when he was pressing an ecclesiastical appointment and at the same time be suspected by one of the parties outside for whom he was working.²² Several months later Hardwicke wrote to Newcastle: "I rejoice that Things have passed so very well in the Closet, & that *we* are in such high favour. *Si sic omnia!*"²³

¹⁵ Newcastle to Pelham, Jan. 19, 1744/45, *ibid.*, p. 206.

¹⁶ Diary of the Earl of Marchmont, Feb. 11, 1745/46, Rose, I, 172.

¹⁷ Cumberland to Newcastle, May 7, 1746, Coxe, *Pelham*, I, 486.

¹⁸ Horatio Walpole to Yorke, Oct. 6, 1746, Coxe, *Horatio, Lord Walpole*, II, 162. Newcastle "was so jealous of the favour of the closet, that he could not endure any one should have credit there" (Diary of the Earl of Marchmont, Dec. 24, 1747, Rose, I, 263); he became jealous even of the Duke of Cumberland's ascendancy in the closet (Coxe, *Horatio, Lord Walpole*, II, 295).

¹⁹ Horatio Walpole to Yorke, Oct. 6, 1746, Coxe, *Horatio, Lord Walpole*, II, 164.

²⁰ Diary of the Earl of Marchmont, Oct. 21, 1747, Rose, I, 218-19.

²¹ Bedford to Lord Sandwich, May 10, 1748, *Correspondence of John, Fourth Duke of Bedford, Selected from the Originals at Woburn Abbey, with an Introduction by Lord John Russell* (3 vols., London, 1842-46), I, 366.

²² Newcastle to Hardwicke, Hanover, Oct. 18, 1752, Add. MSS., 32730, f. 126.

²³ July 5, 1753, *ibid.*, 32732, f. 172.

It was reported in 1755 that Henry Fox had given strong assurances that he was coming into the administration with a view to strengthening himself in the closet and undermining the Duke of Newcastle.²⁴ The next year, however, it was noted that Fox was mortified with the treatment he received "in the closet".²⁵ In 1757, during a debate in the commons, Fox alluded to Pitt's complaint of want of credit in the closet.²⁶ In the same year, at a time when negotiations concerning a coalition of Newcastle and Pitt were proceeding, Lord Waldegrave told George II that Newcastle would find himself in the king's power the moment he entered into the king's service, for, as all the offices of business would be under the direction of his new allies, Newcastle could only be considerable by his interest in the closet. Newcastle's fear and jealousy of Pitt, according to Waldegrave, would be better security for his good behavior than a thousand promises.²⁷ Horace Walpole tells us that shortly before the formation of the coalition administration in June, 1757, Newcastle hoped he might again have admission to the closet, where he would be ready to protest and promise whatever his majesty expected.²⁸

II

During the reign of George II, when entry to the king's closet was greatly sought as a means to power and prestige, it came to be recognized that certain great offices of state ordinarily entitled the holder to such access. Apparently, those ministers who could expect ordinary or usual access to the closet were the first minister, the secretaries of state, ministers at the heads of departments such as the war office, where much important work was constantly done, and those favorite ministers whom the sovereign might desire to have with him. At times, it should be noted, the king attempted to debar those who had incurred his dislike and to exclude those who after obtaining entry made themselves disagreeable to him.

Newcastle, as we have seen, anxiously kept his eye on the power of the closet. In 1748, according to Pelham, he had spoken several times of the hardship involved in accompanying the king to Hanover. "Any

²⁴ Potter to Earl Temple, Oct., 1755, *The Grenville Papers: Being the Correspondence of Richard Grenville, Earl Temple, K. G., and the Right Hon: George Grenville, their Friends and Contemporaries*, ed. by William James Smith (4 vols., London, 1852-53), I, 144.

²⁵ James, Earl Waldegrave, *Memoirs from 1754 to 1758* (London, 1821), p. 81.

²⁶ Horace Walpole, *Memoirs of the Last Ten Years of the Reign of George the Second* (2 vols., London, 1822), II, 151.

²⁷ Waldegrave, *Memoirs*, p. 132.

²⁸ Walpole, *George the Second*, II, 203.

man that knows any thing of this Court, and will speak truth, must say that whoever thinks to *rule in the Closet, must follow the King* in these *Partys abroad*." Pelham also observed that when he found his brother determined to have as great weight in the closet as anyone who had preceded him, he knew that his brother must go with the king.²⁹ Two years later, at a time of rivalry between Newcastle and Bedford, the two secretaries of state, Newcastle talked of resigning unless Bedford were displaced and of taking the office of lord president or lord privy seal. Thereupon Hardwicke, the lord chancellor and his adviser, wrote to him:

For your Grace to continue at court, in the President's office, and see all the business and power, the access to the closet, as well as to the other branches of the royal family, in other hands: — suppose also they should happen to make their court so well, that for some time the appearances of favour and countenance on that side should increase, — would not this be a scene of perpetual uneasiness [*sic*] and dissatisfaction to you, and keep your mind in constant agitation? I protest for my own part, I would much rather quit the court entirely, than be in such a situation.³⁰

A striking instance of George II's pleasure in having a favorite in the closet concerned the rather dull Sir Thomas Robinson. The king, according to Horace Walpole, was so pleased to have such a secretary of state as Robinson in his closet that he was as happy as though he had been at Heerenhausen in Hanover.³¹

One important case where the office did not carry with it the right of access to the closet occurred in 1754 when the king allowed Legge to be chancellor of the exchequer on the condition that he should never enter his closet.³² This attitude of the king was probably due to the fact that Legge was a friend of William Pitt, whom the king particularly disliked.

It is indeed in connection with Pitt that we find the best illustration of the king's role in the closet. Pitt seemed to be as eager to gain entry into the closet as the king was to debar him from it. In 1746, after George II's abortive attempt to form a ministry pleasing to himself and his speedy submission to the Pelhams, a ministry was formed in which Pitt was made paymaster of the forces; for in this instance the king, persisting in his desire to debar Pitt from any place that would give him the "entrée of his closet", refused to have him made secretary at war.³³ In 1751, according to Horace Walpole, Pitt much preferred the

²⁹ Pelham to Hardwicke, July 25, 1748, Add. MSS., 35423, ff. 48, 49.

³⁰ Hardwicke to Newcastle, July 13/24, 1750, Coxe, *Pelham*, II, 359.

³¹ Horace Walpole, *George the Second*, I, 337. ³² *Ibid.*, p. 331. ³³ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

office of secretary at war to that of paymaster, though the paymaster's office was a very lucrative one, since the secretaryship would give him an introduction to the closet, which was the very reason why George II had refused it to him.³⁴

In 1756, when the exigencies of the war forced the Newcastle ministry to yield to an administration dominated by Pitt, secretary of state, the king, says Horace Walpole, abhorred the thought of seeing Pitt and complained of the hardship of being forced to tell the only secrets he had to a man "whom he never would let into his closet".³⁵ Among the terms stipulated by Pitt as conditions on which he would undertake to form a ministry, one concerned access to the king's closet: "That if he came into His Majesty's Service, he thought it necessary, in order to serve him, & to support his Affairs, to have such Powers as belonged to his Station; to be in the first Concert & Concoction of Measures, & to be at Liberty to propose to His Majesty himself any thing that occurred to him for his Service, originally, & without going thro' the Chancel of any other Minister."³⁶ Pitt, who had formerly, when in opposition, attacked measures which the king favored and so made himself thoroughly obnoxious, behaved while in office with as much veneration as the king could expect and was complaisant to the king's German policy. But, adds Walpole, Pitt introduced "eloquence" into the closet, and the verboseness of his brother-in-law, Lord Temple, first lord of the admiralty, also was tiresome.³⁷ Long afterwards, in 1775, Burke wrote of Pitt: "The least peep into that closet intoxicates him, and will to the end of his life."³⁸

III

With respect to the king's closet, the situation under George II continued under George III, except that presently, with the revival of royal authority in the conduct of the government, what was done in the closet and in intercourse between the king and his various ministers respectively was often more important than what was done by the principal ministers in their cabinet councils or smaller groups. George III preferred to exercise authority and direction by conference with his ministers in the closet rather than attempt to dominate them by attending and presiding over cabinet meetings. No doubt the absence of the

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 95. ³⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 101.

³⁶ Oct. 24, 1756, Add. MSS., 35870, f. 264. ³⁷ *George the Second*, II, 197-98.

³⁸ Letter to the Marquis of Rockingham, Dec., 1775, George Thomas, Earl of Albemarle, *Memoirs of the Marquis of Rockingham and his Contemporaries* . . . (2 vols., London, 1852), II, 260.

sovereign from cabinet meetings marks an epoch in the rise of cabinet ministers' authority in the eighteenth century, but the decline of royal power, as we have seen, was much slower than has generally been supposed, for in practice the king transferred his activities from the cabinet to the closet. Notable features of closet developments under George III, which we shall take up chronologically, concern the king's preoccupation with attempts to "storm" the closet and the "behind-the-scene" movements in the rise and fall of ministries, involving such figures as Newcastle, Pitt, Rockingham, Grafton, and Charles James Fox.

In December, 1760, about two months after George III's accession, Newcastle complained that his situation at court was such that he could endure it only a little longer, that he had little weight in the closet, and that means were daily being taken to let him have as little in the ensuing parliament. He was willing to accept the treasury under the young king as he had been advised to do, but he would not remain as a cipher in the closet.³⁹ Shortly after his resignation in 1761, Pitt declared in the house of commons that he had resisted the measures of the closet nor would he subscribe to them until they had been qualified.⁴⁰ In 1762 George III expressed to Henry Fox great concern lest a good peace be lost in a good house of commons for want of a proper person to support the king's measures there "and keep his closet from that force with which it was so threatened".⁴¹ The next year Pitt was informed that Lord Shelburne possessed the partiality of the closet but that Lord Halifax was gaining ground there.⁴²

In 1765, shortly before the fall of the Grenville ministry, Lord Albemarle told Pitt that the king's ministers had taken such possession of the closet that they scarcely acted with decency to their master.⁴³ A little later Newcastle wrote: "When His Majesty commanded me to attend him the day the Ministers were appointed, the King very graciously told me he was glad to see me again in the closet".⁴⁴ In

³⁹ Rigby to the Duke of Bedford, Dec. 19, 1760, *Bedford Correspondence*, II, 424-25.

⁴⁰ Horace Walpole, *Memoirs of the Reign of King George the Third*, ed. by Sir Denis Le Marchant (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1845), I, 71.

⁴¹ Fox to the Duke of Bedford, Oct. 13, 1762, *Bedford Correspondence*, III, 134.

⁴² The Earl of Bristol to Pitt, June 9, 1763, *Correspondence of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham*, ed. by William Stanhope Taylor and Captain John Henry Pringle (4 vols., London, 1838-40), II, 229.

⁴³ Albemarle, *Rockingham*, I, 193.

⁴⁴ Newcastle to John White, June 29, 1765, *A Narrative of the Changes in the Ministry, 1765-1767, told by the Duke of Newcastle in a Series of Letters to John White, M.P.*, ed. by Mary Bateson (Camden Society, London, 1898), p. 32.

December, according to Newcastle, Lord Rockingham and the Duke of Grafton thought themselves so sure of "the closet" that they were neglecting every other consideration.⁴⁵ Concerning the Duke of Cumberland, who died in 1765, Horace Walpole remarked that his character was so highly esteemed, his behavior was so full of dignity, he was so attached to the crown, and he understood the court so well, that in the closet he could hazard language which ministers could not venture to use.⁴⁶

In 1766, before Pitt returned to the ministry, he wrote to Shelburne that he would never set foot in the closet but in the hope of rendering the king's personal situation happy and his business prosperous.⁴⁷ It was now being said that Pitt by his talents and address in the closet would establish his power by ingratiating himself with the king.⁴⁸ In 1767 a correspondent, writing to Pitt, now Earl of Chatham, said that he had long been convinced of the latter's strength in the closet and that he had never stood higher in the estimation of the king.⁴⁹ In the same year the king wrote to Chatham that the Bedfords and the Rockinghams had joined forces "with intention to storm my closet".⁵⁰

Not long before Chatham went into virtual retirement, says a correspondent, Lord Rockingham had lost ground in the closet, and it was understood that the Duke of Grafton—first lord of the treasury—did not mean to remain long where he was, that he continued in office only in consequence of the professions he had made "not to suffer the Closet to be taken by storm".⁵¹ In January, 1768, Grafton and his associates made a junction with the Bedford party. The Earl of Hardwicke was reported to have thought that the Bedford connection was hungrily impatient for places and emoluments but that the Duke of Grafton had done well for himself "unless he should suffer them to beat him in the Closet" and so become his masters.⁵² In the summer it was believed that Shelburne was striving by his efforts in the closet to oppose Grafton.⁵³ Grafton presently resolved to retire: "For, I was not so blinded, as not to feel the ground around me to be treacherous and unsafe; though the Closet was still favorable, and afforded all

⁴⁵ Newcastle to White, Dec. 3, 1765, *ibid.*, p. 37.

⁴⁶ Walpole, *George the Third*, I, 355.

⁴⁷ Letter of Feb. 24, 1766, *Correspondence of Pitt*, III, 12.

⁴⁸ William Gerard Hamilton to Earl Temple, Aug. 3, 1766, *Grenville Papers*, III, 291.

⁴⁹ The Earl of Bristol to Chatham, Mar. 23, 1767, *Correspondence of Pitt*, III, 237.

⁵⁰ Letter of May 30, 1767, *ibid.*, III, 261.

⁵¹ Whately to Grenville, Aug. 24, 1767, *Grenville Papers*, IV, 156-57.

⁵² Lord Lyttelton to Earl Temple, Jan. 1, 1768, *ibid.*, p. 253.

⁵³ Hamilton to Calcraft, July 20, 1768, *Correspondence of Pitt*, III, 333, n.

apparent support".⁵⁴ Horace Walpole informs us that George III had appraised the character of Grafton and had found that of all the various ministers he had tried, no man would be more pliant in the closet or give him less trouble.⁵⁵

Three references have been found to Charles James Fox and the closet during the North ministry. In 1774 it was supposed that Fox would not have ventured on a certain line of conduct entailing North's resentment without support from some part of the administration, and that "*that*" part must have had some encouragement from the closet.⁵⁶ According to a memorandum among Lord North's papers concerning negotiations about changes in the ministry in 1780, a certain lord advised that Fox should at first be proposed for an office that would not lead immediately to the closet.⁵⁷ An unsigned and undated paper—relating perhaps to 1782—embodies a communication made to Fox, doubtless more with respect to what had been than to what was to be after the failure of the policy of George III and the diminution of his power: "If this country is really and to all intents a monarchy, where everything is decided by the factious manoeuvres of the closet, you must consider the Parliament as only a sort of auxiliary to give you the preponderance over your colleagues. I do not know whether this is taking the matter in a new light. I rather suspect it is the true one, and that the affairs of this country must hereafter be regulated upon it."⁵⁸

IV

The work done in the closet was varied and in course of time concerned all the important activities of government, such as foreign affairs, appointments, ministerial tenure, and parliamentary matters. Connected with it was a vast amount of cajolery, influence, persuasion, and intrigue. The mass and heterogeneity of the work of the king and the ministers in the closet may be illustrated by a number of examples.

Foreign affairs were frequently considered during the reign of George II. This is understandable in view of the king's preoccupation with this subject. Hervey, writing about events of 1734, mentions conversations between the king and Sir Robert Walpole in the closet re-

⁵⁴ *Autobiography and Political Correspondence of Augustus Henry, Third Duke of Grafton* . . . ed. by Sir William R. Anson (London, 1898), p. 245.

⁵⁵ Walpole, *George the Third*, II, 42.

⁵⁶ Shelburne to Chatham, Feb. 27, 1774, *Correspondence of Pitt*, IV, 328.

⁵⁷ Lord John Russell, *Memorials and Correspondence of Charles James Fox* (4 vols., London, 1853-57), I, 251.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 456-57.

garding the conduct of the emperor.⁵⁹ In the same year, in the closet, the king praised highly a dispatch from Robinson, the British minister at Vienna, while Walpole thought it a poor one.⁶⁰ At one time in 1744 the two secretaries of state were having audience with the king in his closet every day.⁶¹ In 1746 Newcastle wrote:

When I came into the closet yesterday, I found the king reading the new draught of lord Harrington's letter, which, upon my not having seen it, he began to read over again; and I send you a copy of it. . . . The king struck out some passages, which his Majesty thought shewed too much disposition to the other side of the question, in the articles relating to Cape Breton, the perpetual neutrality, &c.⁶²

Somewhat later Horatio Walpole declared that a proposition of his was "the sense of all the ministers that have access and audience on foreign affairs in the closet, except one".⁶³ In 1753 Hardwicke, the lord chancellor, spoke of certain Russian business being dealt with in the closet.⁶⁴

An important part of the work in the closet concerned appointments and the filling of vacancies. In 1735 Sir Robert Walpole, having obtained the king's reluctant consent to appointments for certain lords, immediately left the closet and sent them in to kiss the king's hand before he could change his mind.⁶⁵ Some years later Hardwicke had an interview with George II in the closet about an appointment.⁶⁶ In March, 1754, after the death of Pelham, there was a cabinet meeting of eight to deliberate on the filling of vacancies. A plan communicated to them was approved. The "Minute", preserved among the Hardwicke Papers, bears endorsement: "N.B. I deliv.^d this Minute, on Wedn: Mar: 13th, to the King in his Closet, who read it over deliberately, & entirely approved thereof."⁶⁷ A list of proposed appointments referring to cabinet, admiralty, treasury, and other offices and to parliamentary seats, was endorsed by Hardwicke: "The Paper shewed by me to the King in his Closet".⁶⁸ On one occasion the Prince and the Princess of Wales sent messages to Newcastle, assuring him that if, "by his interest in the closet", Lord Bute could be made groom of the stole, they

⁵⁹ Hervey, *Memoirs*, II, 348. ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 393-94.

⁶¹ Newcastle to Pelham, Aug. 25, 1744, Add. MSS., 35408, f. 40.

⁶² Newcastle to Hardwicke, May 21, 1746, Coxe, *Pelham*, I, 488.

⁶³ Horatio Walpole to the Duke of Cumberland, 1747, Coxe, *Horatio, Lord Walpole*, II, 218.

⁶⁴ Hardwicke to Newcastle, Oct. 4, 1753, Add. MSS., 32733, ff. 16-17.

⁶⁵ Hervey, *Memoirs*, II, 407.

⁶⁶ Hardwicke to Newcastle, Jan. 3, 1754, Add. MSS., 32852, f. 63.

⁶⁷ Add. MSS., 35870, ff. 245-46. ⁶⁸ June 15, 1757, *ibid.*, ff. 268-69.

would ever remember it as the greatest obligation.⁶⁹ In September, 1760, Newcastle had an interview with George II in the closet with regard to Lord Ligonier's illness. In the event of Ligonier's death the king wished to appoint the Duke of Cumberland commander-in-chief of the forces. Newcastle tried to dissuade him from this and urged him to take the command himself. The interview also concerned another military appointment. Afterwards Newcastle reported the conversation to Lady Yarmouth, the king's influential mistress, who entirely approved. Later, when Newcastle informed Pitt of its material parts, in Lady Yarmouth's presence, Pitt did not entirely approve. "Lady Y. took it up strongly, & said, the Duke of Newcastle is in the Right". On this occasion Newcastle added: "I never left the Closet, with more Marks of Approbation, & good Humour, from the King".⁷⁰ In 1766, when Newcastle went to the closet and delivered up the privy seal, he conversed with the king and made certain recommendations. The king told him about the transfer of the bishop of Oxford to Salisbury, which pleased the old minister. "I then told the King, that, as this would probably be the last time, that I should come into His Majesty's closet, as one of his servants, (the King replied very graciously, 'I hope you mean it in that sense only') I would take the liberty to advise him, to keep as many of *his old servants as he could*. His Majesty seemed, by his manner, to agree to it."⁷¹ In the same year a request made by Lord Holland was "countenanced by the Administration, and discouraged by the Closet".⁷²

Matters pertaining to ministerial tenure and relations were similarly taken up in the closet. In 1746, when an attempt was being made to form a ministry under Pulteney (Earl of Bath) and the associates and friends of the Pelhams were resigning, it was said that George II, fatigued and perplexed, shut himself up in his closet and refused to see any more of the people who were pouring in upon him with white staffs, gold keys, and commissions.⁷³ It was in the king's closet that Newcastle had intimation that Bedford, secretary of state, was about to be dismissed.⁷⁴ In January, 1766, Newcastle and George III discussed changes in the ministry.⁷⁵ Shortly before the first Rockingham ministry was displaced and Pitt put in charge, Lord Northington informed the

⁶⁹ Waldegrave, *Memoirs*, p. 65. ⁷⁰ Add. MSS., 32999, ff. 42-46.

⁷¹ Newcastle to White, Aug. 4, 1766, Newcastle, *Narrative*, pp. 94-96.

⁷² Hamilton to Earl Temple, July 1, 1766, *Grenville Papers*, III, 257.

⁷³ Coxe, *Pelham*, I, 291.

⁷⁴ Newcastle to Pelham, Hanover, Aug. 23/Sept. 3, 1750, *ibid.*, II, 376.

⁷⁵ Newcastle to John White, Jan. 9, 1766, Newcastle, *Narrative*, p. 45.

king in the closet that his ministry could not stand, that he himself would attend no more meetings, and that he did not think it proper for him to continue to hold the great seal.⁷⁶ When Newcastle went to the closet again to discuss ministerial changes, George III told him of his displacement by Pitt.⁷⁷ In 1767 serious attention was given in the closet to the formation of a temporary administration, the king, the lord president, and the Duke of Grafton being present. The ministers urged that it was not practicable for them to form a temporary administration. Accordingly, George III asked Chatham whether he could devise any plan by which the government could be carried on.⁷⁸

In addition to foreign affairs, appointments, and ministerial tenure, discussions in the closet dealt with parliamentary matters. The Earl of Cholmondeley wrote in 1744 to Sir Robert Walpole, now Earl of Orford, that he had just had the honor of attending George II in his closet and that the king had spoken kindly of the Earl of Orford and hoped that he would be in London before the meeting of parliament.⁷⁹ A few days later Horace Walpole informed his father that there had been a contest in the closet about the conduct of the approaching session.⁸⁰ When Conway resigned in 1768, George III is said to have insisted on his continuing "in the secret of affairs", adding that he would depend on Conway for report of what passed in parliament and ordering Conway to attend him in the closet once a week.⁸¹

It is hardly necessary to elaborate further on the character of the work in the closet. A few other miscellaneous examples will suffice. In 1737 it was in the king's closet that Walpole almost coerced George II into sending an important message to the Prince of Wales.⁸² Two years later, shortly after Sir John Norris and George II had discoursed on the sea services in the closet, a small group of the principal ministers consulted with Norris about instructions to be sent to one of the naval commanders.⁸³ In 1756 an account of a conference with Pitt was read by the lord chancellor to George II in his closet at Kensington.⁸⁴ In 1765 Grenville learned in the closet that the king wished the minis-

⁷⁶ Private Memoirs of the Second Lord Hardwicke, July 6, 1766, Add. MSS., 35428, f. 33.

⁷⁷ Newcastle to White, July 25, 1766, Newcastle, *Narrative*, pp. 87-89.

⁷⁸ George III to Chatham, June 2, 1767, *Correspondence of Pitt*, III, 267.

⁷⁹ Nov. 5, 1744, William Coxe, *Memoirs of the Life and Administration of Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford* . . . (3 vols., London, 1798), III, 601-602.

⁸⁰ Horace Walpole to the Earl of Orford, Nov. 8, 1744, *ibid.*, p. 603.

⁸¹ Horace Walpole, *George the Third*, II, 82. ⁸² Hervey, *Memoirs*, III, 769-70.

⁸³ June 13, 1739, Add. MSS., 28132. ⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 35870, ff. 263-66.

ters to consider a regency bill. A little later, when a meeting of the privy council was to be held at St. James's, at which the king was to propose the regency bill, Grenville went into the closet before the meeting and talked with the king.⁸⁵

Transactions in the closet were considered by ministers to be confidential and informal. In 1748 Pelham contrasted "Private advice, such as a minister gives to the king, in his closet" with a formal opinion, in writing.⁸⁶ Grenville told George III in 1765 that "he strictly relied on His Majesty's secrecy as to whatever passed in the sacred recess of his Closet".⁸⁷ In 1782 Shelburne declared that he held it highly improper to advert to what had passed either in the cabinet or in the closet.⁸⁸

V

In the course of the struggle for supremacy between king and ministers there were instances of difficulties and friction in the closet. Several examples, in addition to those already given, are worth mentioning. According to Hervey, George II liked to declaim on military matters while "all private business and domestic affairs were at a full stand, and no answer [was] to be got from him to the solicitation of any person whatsoever. Whenever Sir Robert Walpole, with the business of twenty different people taken down in abridgment upon his paper of notes, went into the King's closet to speak to him on those heads, the King always began to harangue on the military topic, and, after a declamation of about an hour long, dismissed Sir Robert without one of the things settled on which he came prepared to speak, and often without giving him opportunity barely to mention them."⁸⁹

Newcastle told Hardwicke in 1744 that Pelham had talked with the king in the closet, supporting with all firmness and judgment a paper agreed on by some of the principal ministers. "The effect produced was *sullenness, ill-humour, fear*: a disposition to acquiesce, if it could be done with lord Granville's approbation".⁹⁰ About ten years later Newcastle noted that "the Closet was not in a *gay Humour*".⁹¹ Some of Newcastle's memoranda record an audience of the king in

⁸⁵ Grenville's Diary, Apr. 3, 22, 1765, *Grenville Papers*, III, 125, 128.

⁸⁶ Pelham to Newcastle, Sept. 5/16, 1748, Coxe, *Pelham*, II, 24.

⁸⁷ Grenville's Diary, May 21, 1765, *Grenville Papers*, III, 178.

⁸⁸ Shelburne to Fox, July, 1782, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, *Life of William Earl of Shelburne* . . . (3 vols., London, 1875-76), III, 242.

⁸⁹ Hervey, *Memoirs*, II, 341.

⁹⁰ Newcastle to Hardwicke, Nov. 3, 1744, Coxe, *Horatio, Lord Walpole*, II, 94-95.

⁹¹ Newcastle to Hardwicke, Oct. 24, 1754, Add. MSS., 32737, f. 191.

1757: "Great Complaints of His being abandon'd by this Country, that He must take Care of Him self &c and if He could; obtain His Neutrality, by the Court of Vienna, or Denmark. Very bitter Invectives against us. to which I presumed to make some pretty strong Replies."⁹² Both Pitt and Lord Temple were among those who proved tiresome to the king.⁹³ In his characterization of George II, Waldegrave wrote that when anything disagreeable took place in the closet, when any of the ministers displeased him, it would not long remain a secret, for the king's countenance could never dissemble.⁹⁴

George III, who disliked Grenville, declared: "When he has wearied me for two hours, he looks at his watch to see if he may not tire me for an hour more."⁹⁵ On another occasion it is said that the king asked whether Lord Chatham was not very tedious in council and complained of the long speeches which Chatham made to him, as Grenville had been accustomed to doing.⁹⁶

From what has been said we may conclude that to some extent the closet of the eighteenth century was what the cabinet had been a century before. It should be noticed, however, that the later development was different from the earlier one: no council of the closet arose as a cabinet council had developed. George I and George II, even George III, did not develop a small new council dependent upon themselves apart from the cabinet council. They were compelled by the altered circumstances of the time to deal with the first minister and with other ministers who continued to do their effective work in the cabinet or in the smaller group of principal ministers.

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GAUDENS MEGARO, editor.

⁹² Sept. 13, 1757, Add. MSS., 32997, f. 263.

⁹³ See above, p. 768.

⁹⁴ *Memoirs*, pp. 4-5.

⁹⁵ Albemarle, *Rockingham*, I, 67.

⁹⁶ Horace Walpole, *George the Third*, I, 450.

THE AMERICAN BOARD OF CUSTOMS, 1767-1783

A significant but fatal experiment in colonial administration began in 1767 with the establishment of the American board of customs in Boston, Massachusetts. This board, from the English point of view, was an essential feature of a plan for enforcing the trade and revenue laws in the colonies. To Americans who believed that taxation without representation was tyranny the new commissioners were tyrants who strove to make taxation of the colonies by parliament effective, and they consequently suffered from American hostility until they finally fled from Boston with other loyalists in March, 1776.

The board has a significance in American colonial history out of proportion to its brief term of office, for the unwelcome presence in America of these officials and their efforts to enforce the revenue acts were important factors in precipitating the Revolution. Moreover, the board's misfortunes, ending in the loss of the American colonies, may be ascribed not only to an unpopular colonial policy and to the board's own weaknesses but to defects that had characterized British administration throughout the eighteenth century.¹

I

No one in later years cared to claim as his own the original idea for an experiment that from most points of view was considered a failure. But contemporaries were inclined to give joint credit, if credit it could be called, to Charles Paxton, an American by birth, surveyor and searcher in the port of Boston and marshal of the vice-admiralty court, and to Charles Townshend, chancellor of the exchequer, whose proposals for raising a revenue in the colonies have since borne his name.²

The evidence for declaring that Paxton was influential in procuring

¹ The late Professor Edward Channing, almost alone among American historians, made the board a subject of study (Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, Apr., 1910, XLIII, 477-90; and *A History of the United States*, New York, 1912, III, 85-96). The present study employs many sources unused by Professor Channing, especially treasury books and papers in the Public Record Office in England, and, unlike Professor Channing's account, it treats the subject primarily as an administrative problem.

² Paxton, while holding the offices mentioned above, came into bitter conflict with Boston merchants. Both sides of the controversy appear in the Public Record Office, Treasury 1:408 and 415, and references to it may be found in "A Journal of the Times", May 31, 1769, which was published in the *Boston Gazette* and other colonial newspapers. For republication of the journal see *Boston under Military Rule as revealed in A Journal of the Times*, compiled by Oliver Morton Dickerson (Boston, 1936).

the establishment of a customs board for America is purely circumstantial. Known facts merely show that he was in England during the years 1766-67, that he had connections with government officials, and that he found opportunities to use whatever influence he may have possessed.³ Contemporaries, however, went so far as to assert that the Townshends were under financial obligations to Paxton and intimated that here lay the reason for his supposed instrumentality in securing a board of customs for America and in acquiring a place for himself among the five members.⁴ The imputation, which lacks sufficient evidence to be stated as historical fact, has, nevertheless, considerable historical importance because its acceptance in America, if only by a few, threw disrepute upon the board from the beginning of its existence.⁵

Equally unfortunate for the success of the new undertaking were the peculiar political conditions in England making it possible for Townshend to carry through parliament measures which lacked the support of the ministry.⁶ Because of the illness and practical retirement of Chatham and the indecision of Grafton, first lord of the treasury, the cabinet was without an acknowledged leader. Townshend's own position was a curious one. Appointed chancellor of the exchequer at Grafton's special request, he was at first excluded from the inner cabinet. Although admitted to meetings of the group before many weeks passed, he seems never to have recovered from the original slight.⁷ This fact

³ He sailed for England in the summer of 1766 carrying with him a letter of introduction from Governor Bernard to the latter's cousin by marriage, Viscount Barrington, then secretary at war (Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., 1925, LVIII, 16; *The Barrington-Bernard Correspondence, 1760-1770*, Cambridge, 1912, p. 111). He attended the treasury board by invitation (Treas. 29:38, p. 127) and was on sufficiently intimate terms with the Townshend family to visit them. In November, 1767, he returned to Boston, a member of the newly created customs board. He later carried on a correspondence with George Townshend, the fourth viscount, in which he referred to Charles Townshend, who had died in September, 1767, as his "Dear deceased patron" (Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., 1923, LVI, 349-50).

⁴ *Works of John Adams . . . with a Life of the Author* (Boston, 1850-56), II, 220; "A Journal of the Times", Dec. 27, 1768.

⁵ American patriots were suspicious that their own countrymen proposed many of the measures adopted by the British government (Boston *Post-Boy and Advertiser*, Nov. 30, 1767; *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, Albert Henry Smyth, ed., New York, 1905-1907, VI, 262).

⁶ Parliament had originally conferred upon the English board its authority in the plantations; therefore another statute was necessary to transfer authority to another agency. The commission of the English board, however, did not mention the plantation duties, and therefore the change in authority did not require a change in this patent.

⁷ Augustus Henry Third Duke of Grafton, *Autobiography and Political Correspondence of, Sir William Anson*, ed. (London, 1898), p. 89; British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, 38205, ff. 82-83.

may explain why, when the opportunity occurred, he seemed more ready to yield to the dictates of the opposition and the taunts of Grenville than to follow the advice of his own colleagues. Despite the lack of confidence placed in him by Chatham and other members of the cabinet, Townshend was the natural spokesman for the administration on financial questions before the house of commons.⁸ One day late in January, to the dismay of his colleagues, he assured the house of commons that he would obtain a revenue from America.⁹ Vacillating as he was in other respects, Townshend never forgot this pledge, nor did he cease to urge it upon the other ministers.

From the beginning, as private correspondence of the period shows, Townshend's plan for raising a revenue in the colonies included additional customs duties and a resident board to supervise the administration of the laws, but it was not until May 13 that these plans became public and only on June 15 that the bill for establishing the American board passed the house.¹⁰ During the months that intervened between the time when Townshend first broached his idea to his colleagues and the day when it became law other members of the cabinet tried in vain to dissuade him from his purpose.¹¹ The cabinet evidently discussed

⁸ According to the Duke of Grafton, there were only two "efficient" members of the ministry in the house, Conway and Townshend, by which he probably meant that they were the only two who were of the inner cabinet (Edward Raymond Turner, *The Cabinet Council of England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, 1622-1784*, Baltimore, 1930-32, II, 111). Conway was administration leader in the house but showed little skill in managing that body.

⁹ Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, *Life of William, Earl of Shelburne* (London, 1875-76), II, 38; Add. MSS., 38205, f. 132, which refers to Grenville's motion for making America support the troops; Grafton, *Autobiography*, p. 126. Under Grenville the policy of raising a revenue in America by act of parliament was put into effect by 4 George III, c. 15.

¹⁰ Fitzmaurice, *Life of Shelburne*, II, 39; Grafton, *Autobiography*, pp. 126-27, 176-77; *Journals of the House of Commons*, XXXI, 405, 412, 415. The bill passed the lords on June 18 and received the royal assent on June 29. Rumors as to these plans were current as early as the latter part of February (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 1897, LIX, 79-81).

¹¹ The defeat of the administration's four shilling land tax made the problem of revenue acute and in the end strengthened Townshend's cause (*Letters of Horace Walpole*, Mrs. Paget Toynbee, ed., Oxford, 1903-1905, VII, 87). Chatham's futile attempt to persuade Lord North to accept Townshend's office left the latter more bold and insistent than before (*Life of Shelburne*, p. 48). Within the cabinet the chief opponent of his policy was Lord Shelburne, who, as secretary of state for the southern department, which included the colonies, dreaded the probability of renewed strife in America and sought a less objectionable means of raising a revenue there. Investigation had shown that the quitrents and income from land grants would not serve the purpose immediately, as had been hoped, but would require time for development as sources of revenue, and there was no certainty as to what they might yield. In October, 1766, the auditor of the plantation revenues had been asked to submit estimates (*Grenville Papers*, William James Smith, ed., London, 1852-53, III, 334). His reports were dated November 14, 1766 (Treas. 1:437,

various alternatives and possibly agreed to place before the king a recommendation for developing the quitrents to provide American revenue.¹² Available sources fail to indicate exactly what happened, but in the end Townshend was left to present his own revenue measures in his own way.¹³

The administrative difficulties of the session which closed with the passage of the Townshend Acts were well known to Americans, and their resulting disrespect for the ministers extended to their colonial measures and to the new American board of customs.¹⁴ The board, therefore, suffered in loss of prestige because of its sponsors.

Equally unfortunate for the board was its connection with the new port duties, for viewed separately the provision for an American customs board had much in its favor. Logically the establishment of the board was the capstone of reforms in the plantation customs system begun by George Grenville when he was first lord of the treasury. The reforms had proved ineffective because the London board, as it admitted, was too far from America to make its authority felt there.¹⁵ Negligent officers disobeyed orders and instructions, and consequently merchants were annoyed by delays and injured by "the Abuse of Power & the Insolence of inferior Officers".¹⁶ And the officers had grievances of their own.

440). Shelburne admitted that no definite plans could be worked out during the current year, whereas the requirements for the army and civil officials in America were immediate and pressing (*Correspondence of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham*, William Stanhope Taylor and Captain John Henry Pringle, eds., London, 1838-40, III, 184-85).

¹² Two undated letters in the Grafton Papers, numbers 441 and 445, refer to these possibilities and show the distress in which Townshend found himself. Harassed by the opposition, lacking the confidence of Chatham, responsible for the budget, but out of sympathy with the other members of the cabinet, Townshend was in an unenviable position. He could not approach the king personally, although he may well have suspected that the court approved; nor could he secure a mandate from Grafton, who was indeed in a position almost as difficult as that of Townshend himself. (The writer is indebted to the Dowager Duchess of Grafton for giving access to the Grafton Papers originally and to the present duke for permission to cite them here.) At least one contemporary foresaw the difficulties Townshend would have (*Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report on the Manuscripts of Mrs. Stopford-Sackville*, London, 1904-10, I, 67).

¹³ All the evidence seems to prove that Townshend's colleagues gave him the credit for the revenue bill and administrative reform. Ruville's reason for denying that Townshend was responsible for any of the American measures of the session except that for suspending the legislature of New York is not clear (Albert von Ruville, *William Pitt, Earl of Chatham*, New York, 1907, III, 228).

¹⁴ See, for example, the *Boston Post-Boy and Advertiser*, May 25 and October 26, 1767.

¹⁵ Apr. 30, 1767, *Treas.* 1:459.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 28:1, p. 342. Grey Cooper, secretary to the treasury, in writing to the board after it had been established, explained that one of the purposes of its establishment had

From almost every American port they wrote of their difficulties in trying to prevent smuggling.¹⁷ Evidently a board resident in America with powers comparable to those of the English board of customs was necessary to assure justice both to merchants and customs officers.

Logical as were these reasons for erecting a board of customs in America, the colonists knew that they were secondary and that a revenue was the immediate object of parliament.¹⁸ The new duties on glass, lead, tea, paper, and painters' colors were convincing evidence.¹⁹ Americans understood that the new revenue was to be used to maintain a standing army and to make crown officials independent of colonial assemblies, and as they condemned these objects, they distrusted the board which was to make them possible.

II

The statute passed under such unfavorable circumstances was only the first formal step in setting up the new board.²⁰ The second was the patent naming the members of the board, defining their jurisdiction, and conferring authority upon them. Among the commissioners selected by the treasury was scarcely a name to assure respect in America. Henry Hulton, the first commissioner, had served since 1763 in the London office in the capacity of plantation clerk. As far as is known he was the only member of the board to have had any general administrative experience.²¹ John Temple, a native Bostonian, had been surveyor general

been to protect the merchant from such abuse. Not only had he been secretary when the plans were drawn, but he had probably drafted the bill submitted to parliament, and he was a member of the committee which was given leave to bring in the bill, and he reported it from the committee (*Commons Journals*, XXXI, 395-96). The statute itself referred to delays occurring in American ports when officers were obliged to consult their superiors in England (7 George III, c. 41).

¹⁷ Examples of complaints from America are to be found in *Treas.* 1:429, 453, 459.

¹⁸ Even the preamble of the statute which authorized the government to set up the new board expressed the object of securing the rates and duties (7 George III, c. 41).

¹⁹ 7 George III, c. 46.

²⁰ The terms of the statute were very general, granting authority to the crown to set up a board that would have in America powers like those exercised by the English board. The latter continued to manage the plantation duties in the West Indies and the 4½ per cent (*An Account of the Commissioners of Customs, Excise, Hearthmoney and Inland Revenue*, London, 1913, p. 4, n.).

²¹ *Treas.* 29:35, pp. 176-77. Hulton had previously been a commissary in Germany, then a member of the commission of inquiry (*ibid.*, 1:445), and before that comptroller of St. John's in Antigua (Add. MSS., 41347, the Martin Papers, not numbered by folios when used by the writer), from which office he was on leave when serving in Germany. His work in the plantation office had given him a thorough acquaintance with the problems of the American customs system at the time when Grenville was introducing important

of the northern district before his appointment to the board.²² He had won the approval of the English commissioners and of the treasury, but his relations with Governor Bernard of Massachusetts, in whose province the board was to reside, had been unfriendly to the point of hostility.²³ His office of surveyor general had been more lucrative and more independent than that of a commissioner, and the other members of the board believed he wanted to destroy it in order to regain his former office.²⁴ John Robinson and Charles Paxton, formerly inferior officers in Temple's district, were now his equals as members of the board.²⁵ William Burch, the fifth member, was an Englishman whose previous experience is unknown. A stranger to America and Americans, as it would seem, he played an insignificant role in the history of the board. The familiarity of the American members of the commission with conditions in New England and America generally was offset by the fact that they had already made enemies there. Neither individually nor as a group were they likely to inspire a feeling of confidence in American traders or any great degree of respect in the subordinate officers whom they were to direct, nor, as will be seen later, could they work in harmony with each other.

A second matter to be decided by the treasury was the extent of the board's jurisdiction. The original plan included all the plantations, but the treasury, yielding to the protests of the West Indian traders, agreed to exclude the sugar islands.²⁶ Nevertheless, the jurisdiction of the board covered the British plantations on the mainland, Bermuda, the Bahamas, and Newfoundland.²⁷ As far as the actual authority of the new board

reforms and had also made him familiar with English policies and practices. Perhaps he understood American difficulties too well, for according to his sister, not only did he not seek the place on the board but would have liked to avoid it (*Letters of a Loyalist Lady: Being the Letters of Ann Hulton, Sister of Henry Hulton, Commissioner of Customs at Boston, 1767-1776*, Cambridge, 1927, p. 4).

²² Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 1897, LIX, xv.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 24, and *passim*; Treas. 1:429 and 441.

²⁴ Salary as surveyor general of £495, including £50 for a clerk and £80 for boat and men, plus traveling expenses at a fixed rate of 20s. a day when actually employed (Treas. 1:459, July 22, 1767; 11:28, p. 167) is to be compared with £500 as commissioner. The surveyor general also had opportunities for profits from seizures. *Letters of a Loyalist Lady*, pp. 39-40; Paxton to George Townshend, Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., 1923, LVI, 350.

²⁵ Robinson was promoted from the collectorship of Rhode Island. In recommending the establishment of an American board, the English board mentioned the difficulties he had encountered (Treas. 1:441, 459).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 29:38, pp. 435 and 443; 11:28, p. 144.

²⁷ Patent, *ibid.*, 64:216, pp. 83-89. Newfoundland was not separately mentioned but was under the American board until 1775 (15 George III, c. 31). The English board

was concerned, the statute had stipulated that it should have all the powers which the English board had previously exercised in those regions. Such powers included appointing and issuing deputations to officers in the ports under its jurisdiction according to warrants issued by the treasury (excluding those appointed by letters patent), suspending or removing such officers when necessary, receiving security from officers for their good behavior, supervising the collection of duties, authorizing necessary payments from the revenue, requiring proper accounts, enforcing laws through search and seizure, and finally compounding with the owners of goods seized for nonpayment of the customs in cases in which the duties would not have exceeded forty shillings.²⁸ As remuneration the American commissioners were to receive a salary of £500 per annum each, just half the amount paid to the members of the English board. Like the latter, they were exempt from jury duty and were not to be charged with money collected by subordinate officers. All these provisions went into the patent which passed the seals on September 8, 1767. This date marks the formal beginning of the new board, although its legal right to function began only with the opening of the commission in Boston.²⁹

Before a separate customs system for the colonies could be in working order, offices in London and America, henceforth unnecessary, had to be discontinued, and many new offices connected with the board had to be filled. In London the plantation office with its chief clerk and four assistants was abolished.³⁰ In America the offices of the four surveyors general were dissolved and the officers' deputations revoked.³¹ The

advised the treasury that the commissioners needed no formal instructions, that their commission and the statutes would suffice (Treas. 1:459). No instructions have been found, and it must be concluded that when instructions are mentioned by secondary authorities, the reference is to the commission or letters from the treasury.

²⁸ To compound was to agree outside of court upon a sum which would secure release of the goods to the owner. In most respects the patents of the American and English boards were alike, but the few differences might have been interpreted to give greater independence to the American commissioners, as in deciding the amount of security required from officers and in directing the cashier and collectors to pay salaries. In both cases the English patent required the intervention of the treasury (patent of 1777, *Treas.* 64:216, pp. 318 ff.). Possibly more independence was intended to avoid delay, but in practice the American board seems to have enjoyed no advantage. For a description of the English system see Elizabeth Evelynola Hoon, *The Organization of the English Customs System, 1696-1786* (New York, 1938).

²⁹ On August 20 a royal warrant countersigned by three treasury lords, as the custom was in such cases, was addressed to the attorney general directing him to draft the bill for the royal signature (*Treas.* 52:59, pp. 39-40).

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 11:28, p. 446; 29:39, p. 192.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 11:28, p. 446, warrant to the London board to revoke the deputations.

London board estimated there would be a considerable saving in these offices which would go far toward meeting the new expenses.³² Among the new officers appointed by the treasury were a cashier and paymaster general, a comptroller general, an inspector of imports and exports and register of shipping, a solicitor, a secretary to the board, and four clerks for the secretary's office.³³ In addition there were other clerical positions, provided for in the original establishment, left to be filled by the board or the other major officers.³⁴ In order to acquaint these officers with their new duties the treasury called upon the London board of customs to supply the appointees with instructions and to see that they were furnished with useful forms and with information as to the methods of doing business in the port of London.³⁵ All that remained to prepare

³² *Ibid.*, 1:459. The estimate, £2491, was made on the assumption that the board's authority would include the West Indies, but the estimate seems to have been overoptimistic.

³³ The appointment of these officials illustrates the various forms used by the treasury. The cashier, Charles Stewart, and the comptroller general, James Porter, both received commissions under the great seal, indicative of the important and comparatively independent character of their offices (*ibid.*, 64:216, pp. 90-95). The secretary, Samuel Venner, the inspector of imports and exports and register of shipping, Thomas Irving, and the solicitor, David Lisle, were probably all appointed by constitution under the hand and seal of the treasury, although Irving's constitution has not come to light (*ibid.*, 28:1, pp. 301 and 304, and 1:471 for statement that Irving was appointed by the treasury). The two inspectors general, John Williams and William Wooton, and the clerks of the secretary's office were appointed by deputations from the board on treasury warrants (*ibid.*, 28:1, p. 300). Several of these appointments illustrate the treasury policy of promotion. Stewart was formerly surveyor general. Venner had previously been employed in surveying the ports in Scotland (*ibid.*, 1:435). Williams was evidently American born. He had been appointed by the Earl of Bute, receiver general of Martinique, which was restored to France by the Treaty of Paris. Grenville ordered him to America to secure funds from the effects of John Scott and Company for the discharge of a debt to the crown on protested bills of exchange. He claimed to have carried on the work at his own expense and received his appointment as inspector general as a reward (*ibid.*, 1:429, 485; 29:37, p. 134). Wooton had been comptroller in Nova Scotia (*ibid.*, 64:138). Lisle did not receive his deputation until the last of October. He was employed for several months by the treasury in England before going to America (*ibid.*, 28:1, p. 330; 29:39, p. 25). In the meantime Samuel Fitch acted as substitute in Boston (*ibid.*, 1:461).

³⁴ Later the board had a regular agent at the treasury, John Martin Leake, and frequently employed a clerk at the custom house in London to copy papers. Leake was in office at least from July, 1769. He paid the law expenses of the board in connection with appeals and had other incidental expenses for which he accounted (Audit Office 1:844/-1140, Public Record Office). The American organization, while corresponding in essentials to that established in England, was much simpler, due partly to the fact that the new system had had no opportunity to develop noneffective offices or sinecures.

³⁵ The treasury directed Venner and Irving in particular to attend at the custom house for instruction. The inspector general of imports and exports prepared several forms which Irving was to use in America but which he found unsatisfactory (Treas. 1:459; 11:28, p. 143; 29:38, p. 459).

for the installation of the new system was to notify officers in America of the establishment of the new board.³⁶

III

Boston had been chosen by the treasury as the seat of the American board of customs, and in this New England town, famous for its Sons of Liberty and Stamp Act riots, its town meetings and nonimportation agreements, three of the five commissioners, Hulton, Burch, and Paxton, together with eight other customs officers, their families and servants, landed on the fifth of November, 1767.³⁷ During their voyage of six weeks from London on the *Thames* (Alexander Watts, master) they had had plenty of leisure to ponder the reception they might receive. Certainly they cherished no illusions about the popularity of their office in America.³⁸ Possibly the rumor had reached them that they were not to be allowed to land.³⁹ If so, they were pleasantly surprised, for no one tried to stop them as they came up the pier that rainy November day, although it seemed that the whole town was there.⁴⁰

November fifth, the day of their landing, was celebrated in America and England alike as Guy Fawkes Day. The mischief makers were out in full force in spite of the rain. A procession carrying figures of devils, popes, and pretenders met the travelers at the pier and preceded them through the streets. In honor of the board the marchers wore labels on their breasts which read, "Liberty, Property, & no Commissioners". Hulton, at least, laughed with the crowd at this show, but he may well have thought it an unhappy omen.⁴¹

³⁶ The customs commissioners were to write to their officers that after the opening of the new board's commission they would be under its direction (*ibid.*, 11:28, p. 146).

³⁷ *A Volume of Records relating to the Early History of Boston, Miscellaneous Papers* (Boston, 1900), pp. 299-300, gives the names of the ship's passengers. The date, November 7, is probably an error for November 4 when, according to John Rowe, the ship arrived in port (*Letters and Diary of John Rowe*, Anne Rowe Cunningham, ed., Boston, 1903, p. 145). For November 5 as date of landing see *Letters of a Loyalist Lady*, p. 8, and letter of Venner to the treasury, *Treas.* 1:461.

³⁸ The following comment probably describes fairly accurately the attitude of the commissioners toward this adventure, as also that of most Englishmen of the time who understood the situation: "The Appointment of American Commiss^{rs} of Customs (if . . . they escape hanging) will be found . . . a very wise and beneficial measure" (letter of Edward Sidgwick to Edward Weston, once tutor to Horace Walpole, *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Tenth Report*, Appendix I, London, 1885, p. 406).

³⁹ Thomas Hutchinson, *The History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts-Bay*, Lawrence Shaw Mayo, ed. (Cambridge, 1936), III, 131.

⁴⁰ "Pope weather", John Rowe called it (*Diary*, p. 145).

⁴¹ *Letters of a Loyalist Lady*, p. 8. Another account of the procession says that a

Just eleven days after this dubious reception, four of the commissioners, including Temple, took the oath of office.⁴² They established their headquarters in the Concert Hall at the corner of Hanover and Court streets, hired a messenger and a housekeeper, and were ready for business.⁴³ Not until January 28, when Robinson arrived from Rhode Island, did they have a full board, but inasmuch as their commission authorized action by any three, his delay did not inconvenience them.⁴⁴

By the time of Robinson's arrival the board was well aware of popular antagonism. November 20 had been the date for beginning the collection of the new duties; in December the Boston papers were publishing *The Farmer's Letters* and arousing the public to resist the revenue acts, and early the next year a new nonimportation movement was under way. The patriotic leaders tried to detract attention from the board itself and concentrate upon the question of taxation. "The TAX! the TAX! is undoubtedly at present the Matter of Grievance", wrote James Otis in the *Boston Post-Boy and Advertiser*.⁴⁵ But for the majority of people it was difficult to distinguish between the law and those who executed it. The commissioners started a dancing assembly to get acquainted with the people of the town and win their friendship,⁴⁶ but the gesture did little or nothing to counteract the rising tide of ill-will.

The commissioners were sensitive to public opinion and perhaps exaggerated the hostility of the town. Paxton, however, had been burned in effigy, and they were all apprehensive about the future, although they assured the treasury that they were personally safe. Considering the situation as they observed it in Massachusetts and as they learned about it in the other colonies, they concluded that it was impracticable to try to enforce the revenue acts until they could be sure of protection by military or naval force. They reminded the treasury ominously that there was no ship of war in the province nor a company of soldiers nearer than New York.⁴⁷ Bostonians soon surmised that the commis-

figure of the devil, destined for burning, was named "Charles", and that the effigies turned about whenever the travelers stopped to greet friends (*Stopford-Sackville MSS.*, I, 126, also cited by Channing, *History*, III, 86-87).

⁴² Letter of secretary, Nov. 21, 1767, Treas. 1:461.

⁴³ References in contemporary papers indicate that Deblois's Concert Hall was in use from the beginning, although the board's accounts do not contain evidence of payment for any time preceding May, 1769 (A.O. 1:844/1137). The regular custom house was on King Street, not far from the State House (Mass. Hist. Soc. *Coll.*, 1794, III, 248).

⁴⁴ Treas. 1:465.

⁴⁵ Nov. 30, 1767.

⁴⁶ *Letters of a Loyalist Lady*, p. 10.

⁴⁷ Feb. 12, 1768, Treas. 1:465; Mass. Hist. Soc. *Proc.*, LVI, 348-49.

sioners as well as Governor Bernard were injuring their reputation in England,⁴⁸ and became even more open in their hostility.⁴⁹

Fearing to wait for the home government to act in their defense and suspecting that the local authorities were powerless or unwilling to aid them, the commissioners wrote directly to Commodore Hood at Halifax for assistance. As a result the *Romney*, man-of-war of fifty guns, and two armed sloops were in Boston harbor on June 10, 1768, when customs officers seized John Hancock's ship, the *Liberty*, for violating the acts of trade.⁵⁰ To avoid a reseizure by the threatening mob the officers placed her in the protection of the *Romney*. The mob then attacked the officers themselves and threatened other customs officers and their families. The commissioners fled for their lives, first to the homes of friends, then on board the *Romney*, and finally to Castle William, the fortified island in the harbor, where they remained until the following November.⁵¹ From the Castle they wrote again to Commodore Hood, reiterating their need for protection, and also to General Gage at New York and to Colonel Dalrymple at Halifax. When the commissioners returned to Boston three regiments of the British army were in quarters there.⁵²

⁴⁸ Temple, son-in-law of James Bowdoin, was intimate with the colonists, but there were other possible leaks.

⁴⁹ On March 18, the anniversary of the repeal of the Stamp Act, the rioters hung effigies of Paxton and of John Williams, the inspector general, on Liberty Tree. As Governor Bernard wrote to Shelburne, there were rumors that the commissioners' houses would be pulled down, although the mob went no further at the moment than to frighten the women half to death by surrounding their homes, howling like wild Indians, and occasionally breaking a few windows. Mr. Burch and his family fled to the governor's house for protection (*Letters to the Ministry from Governor Bernard, General Gage, and Commodore Hood*, Boston, 1769, pp. 13 and 14). When election day approached, the town directed the selectmen to refuse the governor the use of Faneuil Hall for his entertainment unless he would assure them the commissioners would not be invited, and the company of cadets forming the governor's guard voted not to attend him if he invited the commissioners to dine with him (A Report of the Record Commissioners, *Boston Town Records, 1758-1769*, Boston, 1886, p. 250; Hutchinson's *History*, III, 136).

⁵⁰ Letter of June 3 to treasury telling of their application to Hood and its result, Treas. 1:465.

⁵¹ The commissioners' account and copies of various letters and depositions are in Treas. 1:465, sent from the *Romney* on June 13. There are also accounts in the local papers, for instance, *Boston Post-Boy and Advertiser*, June 20, 1768, and references in Rowe's *Diary*, pp. 165 ff. Burch and Hulton with their families went on board the *Romney* on June 11; Robinson and Paxton, the following day. Temple, who apparently felt perfectly safe in the town, came and went even after the commissioners established themselves at the Castle on the twenty-first. Anne Hulton described their situation in *Letters of a Loyalist Lady*, p. 15.

⁵² On September 28 the 14th, the 29th, and part of the 59th regiments arrived from Halifax; on November 10, part of the 64th and 65th regiments from Ireland (Thomas

Added now to the earlier reasons for the unpopularity of the commissioners was their responsibility for bringing armed vessels into the harbor and troops into the town itself.⁵³ The town had declared that anyone who had called for the troops was an enemy of the town and the province;⁵⁴ and thus as declared enemies the commissioners took up their residence and their duties in Boston once more. Physically under the protection of the armed forces of the crown, the commissioners were still subject to every form of attack which their enemies could devise. Social boycott was one method of persecution;⁵⁵ ridicule in the public papers, another. Their clothes, their coaches, their manners, even their hour of dining were held up to scorn.⁵⁶ More serious was the bill of indictment for libel found by the grand jury on complaint of the town.⁵⁷ The general court added its quota to the vexation of the board members by taxing their salaries.⁵⁸ Although life was unpleasant, they felt safe enough as long as the army remained,⁵⁹ but conditions changed radically on the withdrawal of the troops following the Boston Massacre of March 5, 1770. Excitement in the town ran high when customs officers were charged with having fired from the custom house. As the civil government could not assure the board of safety, discretion seemed to call for a temporary adjournment;⁶⁰ again the board took refuge in

Pemberton, "An Historical Journal of the American War", in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1793, II).

⁵³ The government, as soon as they learned of the disorders on March 18, had ordered Gage to send two regiments from Halifax; on learning of the *Liberty* affair, they ordered the additional regiments from Ireland (Hutchinson's *History*, III, 147). Governor Bernard had frequently intimated that troops were needed but had refrained from calling for them himself (*Barrington-Bernard Correspondence and Letters to the Ministry*).

⁵⁴ *Barrington-Bernard Correspondence*, Appendix III, p. 274.

⁵⁵ When in December the commissioners revived the assembly the patriots set up a rival Liberty Assembly ("A Journal of the Times", Dec. 10, 1768, p. 33, and *Letters of a Loyalist Lady*, p. 19).

⁵⁶ "A Journal of the Times", Jan. 30, 1769, p. 57.

⁵⁷ *Boston Town Records*, pp. 297-300; James Bowdoin to Thomas Pownall, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., LIX, 159; and Treas. 1:476 for a copy of the indictment. There is no doubt the commissioners gave some reason for thinking they were haughty and overbearing (Rowe's *Diary*, p. 181, Dec. 15, 1768; and early letters of the board to the deputy collector of Philadelphia, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Customs Papers, Vols. VII-IX).

⁵⁸ *Letters of a Loyalist Lady*, p. 40. The law officers of the crown stated that the commissioners were liable to be taxed where they resided (Treas. 1:479, Feb. 13, 1770). Nevertheless, the governor received instructions not to consent to any bill with clauses taxing the commissioners' salaries (Hutchinson's *History*, III, 247).

⁵⁹ The province gained one point when Governor Bernard returned to England in the summer of 1769 (Rowe's *Diary*, p. 190).

⁶⁰ Apr. 3, 1770, letter of Hulton and Burch to the Duke of Grafton, Treas. 1:476.

the Castle.⁶¹ With the acquittal of the customs officers and the breaking up of the nonimportation agreement after the partial repeal of the Townshend duties public feeling was less intense, and on December 19, 1770, the board was able to resume meetings in Boston.⁶²

During the next three years, that is, until the Tea Act of 1773 came into force, there was comparative calm for the crown officers in Boston, but the Boston Tea Party on December 16 was the signal for a third flight to the Castle.⁶³ The island was a far less pleasant resort in December than in the heat of a New England summer; and the commissioners did not maintain a permanent residence there. Indeed, they met from time to time in Boston, but their continuing to do so, they said, "must depend upon the Pleasure of the People".⁶⁴ Only a few months of this uncertainty remained to them. The passing of the Boston Port Bill caused their removal to Salem, June 3, 1774, where they were occupied in attending to the enforcement of that act.⁶⁵ Early in September, when it appeared that government officials outside of Boston were not secure, the commissioners returned to the comparative safety of the town, where they remained until the evacuation made it necessary for them to take their final farewell of their enemies.⁶⁶

The unpopularity of the commissioners, which had grown steadily since their arrival, was due mainly to their conscientious efforts to enforce unwelcome customs laws. Americans, however, held the commissioners responsible, directly or indirectly, for other grievances: the enforced payment of Greenwich Hospital dues by colonial seamen,⁶⁷ the

Eliot wrote of the "massacre": "Some are ready to represent the whole as a scheme of the Commissioners, without the least reason. But this shows the prejudice there is against them—which is such that there is no safety in conversing with them, or showing them the least respect" (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1858, XXXIV, 452).

⁶¹ Hulton and Burch first went to New Hampshire but returned shortly to their homes; then, following an attack on Hulton's house in the night, they took refuge once more in the Castle (Bowdoin to Samuel Hood, July 7, 1770, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, LIX, 194; June 30, 1770, *Treas.* 1:476).

⁶² Letter of Dec. 19, 1770, *Treas.* 1:476.

⁶³ To quote James Bowdoin again, they seemed "to intend to act a third time the same farce they acted in June, 1768, and immediately after the massacre in March, 1770" (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, LIX, 327).

⁶⁴ Letter of Jan. 4, 1774, *Treas.* 1:505.

⁶⁵ The Salem Letter Book now in the custom house in Boston is valuable for this period of the board's work. It contains copies of in-letters and out-letters for the port of Salem, 1772-75. An earlier volume now in the Essex Institute is equally valuable for the earlier period of the board's history. Known as the "Book of Records for the Custom House of Salem, 1763-1772", it will be cited here as *Essex Institute, Salem Record Book*.

⁶⁶ Letters of June 30 and Sept. 20, 1774, *Treas.* 1:505.

⁶⁷ Hulton was Deputy Receiver for the Rents of Greenwich Hospital (Charles M.

impressment of seamen by the *Romney*,⁶⁸ writs of assistance,⁶⁹ the new vice-admiralty courts,⁷⁰ proposals for new taxes,⁷¹ and even the possibility of establishing an American episcopate.⁷² And as the list of complaints against Great Britain and British officials lengthened, the opposition of the colonists to the work of the commissioners became more determined until the issue resolved itself in war.

IV

Although the hostility of the colonists was undoubtedly the most important cause of the board's final failure, there were other contributing factors. The board inevitably suffered from the characteristic defects of group administration, divided authority and responsibility, but these natural defects were intensified by personal quarrels among the members.⁷³ As early as the spring of 1768 friction became so serious that Temple, the minority member, and Robinson, representing the majority, sought permission to go to England, presumably to present their respective views.⁷⁴ The treasury advised them to remain in America, but in

Andrews, *Guide to the Materials for American History to 1783, in the Public Record Office of Great Britain*, Washington, 1912-14, II, 64). Fishermen of Salem and Marblehead complained that they were now obliged to pay dues, whereas orders from England in 1732 had exempted them from the obligations of 2 George II, c. 7 ("A Journal of the Times", Dec. 16, 1768, p. 36).

⁶⁸ Boston *Post-Boy*, June 20, 1768, combined accounts of the seizure of the *Liberty* and impressment. See Boston *Chronicle*, Oct. 31 and Nov. 7, for quoted opinions of law officers on impressment in America.

⁶⁹ 7 George III, c. 46, § 10.

⁷⁰ 8 George III, c. 22; Boston *Chronicle*, Nov. 21, 1768.

⁷¹ Boston *Post-Boy*, Mar. 7 and May 16, 1768.

⁷² *Letters of a Loyalist Lady*, p. 13. Hulton, Burch, and Paxton were proprietors of King's Chapel, having pews there, and Paxton was a warden (Henry Wilder Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, Boston, 1882-96, II, 208, 588, 600, 601). In October, 1768, the Boston *Chronicle* reported that Archbishop Secker had left £1000 toward the establishment of an American episcopate and also that a convention of clergy was reviving the issue (Oct. 10, 17, 31).

⁷³ Although Hulton was named first in the commission, the position seems to have been largely honorary, for the members of the board took turns in acting as chairman and in receiving the mail addressed to the board (letter of Nov. 6, 1770, Treas. 1:478). The majority refused to permit the dissent of the minority to be registered in the minutes, and the treasury upheld them (*ibid.*, 28:1, pp. 338 ff.).

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 29:39, p. 108. The other members of the board suspected Temple of trying to court personal popularity. They offended him by refusing to confirm the appointments which he had made when surveyor general. They even denied the legality of a seizure made by a preventive officer at Nantucket, appointee of Temple, and directed his prosecution by the crown (*ibid.*, 28:1, pp. 338 ff.). Rumor credited Temple with instigating the attack on Hulton's house in 1770 (*Letters of a Loyalist Lady*, p. 39).

the spring of 1770, following the Boston Massacre, Robinson sailed without the formality of a leave, followed by Temple the next autumn.⁷⁵ Robinson appeared before the treasury and the privy council, and as a result of his testimony, no doubt, Temple lost his place on the board before he could appear to defend himself.⁷⁶ In Temple's place the treasury appointed Benjamin Hallowell, jr., formerly comptroller in the port of Boston, whom the board had sent to England with dispatches following the seizure of the *Liberty*.⁷⁷ The change was apparently effective in establishing harmony among the members of the board, but the problems of personnel were not confined to the board itself.

Early in 1769 relations between the board and its secretary became so unpleasant that the board suspended him and asked the treasury for his removal. In this the treasury acquiesced as a matter of expediency.⁷⁸ On the other hand the solicitor and one of the inspectors general, William Wooton, although charged with incompetence, remained in office.⁷⁹ Fortunately the cashier, the comptroller, and the inspector of imports and exports seem to have been exceptionally well qualified and depend-

⁷⁵ Treas. 29:40, p. 242; 1:478, leaves granted to Robinson after his arrival, and letter from Temple, Nov. 6, 1770, announcing his intention to sail in ten days. According to Rowe's *Diary*, p. 199, Robinson sailed on March 16.

⁷⁶ *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, V (London, 1912), 253-54, §155; Treas. 29:40, p. 232. New commission of board, Treas. 64:216, pp. 149-56. For Temple's later adventures see Mass. Hist. Soc. *Coll.*, Vol. LIX.

⁷⁷ Treas. 29:40, pp. 243-44. Charles Stewart, the cashier, refused the position, letter of Nov. 7, 1770 (Hist. Soc. of Pa., Customs Papers, Vol. XII). In 1765 Hallowell was trying to find favor in England by suggesting to the treasury various methods of raising money (Add. MSS., 38304, ff. 84 and 111; and 38339, ff. 118-19). Pownall apparently recommended him for a place on the board at its origin (Mass. Hist. Soc. *Coll.*, 1825, XXI, 148). For later difficulties because of Hallowell see Allen French, "The Hallowell-Graves Fisticuffs, 1775" in Mass. Hist. Soc. *Proc.*, 1931, LXIII, 23 ff.).

⁷⁸ The board charged Venner with misrepresenting its correspondence with the treasury in conversations with the attorney general of the province, and Venner complained that the board objected to his receiving its letters and that the members required him to rise when addressing them (Treas. 1:471). Temple defended Venner and may have encouraged him in an insubordinate attitude. The treasury criticized the board for its method of handling the case of an officer appointed by treasury constitution but appointed Reeve in his place (*ibid.*, 29:40, p. 22; 28:1, pp. 312 and 338 ff.). Venner eventually received a pension (Public Record Office, Chatham Papers, G.D. 8:229, list of 1782).

⁷⁹ See Treas. 28:1, p. 338 ff. for treasury's reply to board's criticism of their officers; A.O. 1:844/1137 for payments to officers, showing tenure. In 1768 the board antagonized both inspectors by appointing a special inspector for service in the south (Treas. 29:39, p. 220). In 1770 the board refused Williams leave and then refused to pay him salary when he left without permission (*ibid.*, 1:476; 29:41, p. 401). Williams said his troubles began when he refused to follow the board to Castle William (*ibid.*, 1:522). Lisle remained in office until his death (Rowe's *Diary*, p. 290).

able.⁸⁰ When Venner had been removed from the secretaryship and the chief clerk, Richard Reeve, had been installed in his place, the office force worked with comparative smoothness.⁸¹ The advantages resulting from these changes show that serious as were the difficulties because of personnel in these new offices, such difficulties might have been removed in time. Nevertheless, the lack of harmony at headquarters during the early years of the board's history may have contributed to its loss of prestige in England as well as America and may therefore have hampered it in reforming the customs system at large.

V

One of the first objects of the board was to remedy defects which it found in the organization of the American customs system.⁸² Composed of men experienced in the customs service and having the advantage of residence in America, the board was theoretically well qualified for the

⁸⁰ In 1774 Thomas Irving became receiver general in South Carolina, and James Murray replaced him as inspector of imports and exports (Treas. 1:400 and Cus. 21:16, Oct. 12, 1774).

⁸¹ The division of office work was methodical. The first clerk assisted the secretary in preparing drafts of reports, memorials, letters to be sent to the treasury, other letters, and so forth, for the consideration of the board. He prepared presentments to vacant posts, copied documents sent to the treasury in books kept in his custody, prepared the establishment; prepared, entered in the proper books, and issued orders for paying incidents of the main office; examined and reported upon the securities offered by newly appointed officers and took their bonds. He kept in his care warrants and letters from the treasury, bonds, the book of vacancies and presentments, and with the postmaster kept account of all letters sent out and received. The second clerk handled the correspondence with the southern district, entered in an indexed book all letters received; kept a register of all letters and packages sent to those ports, the date, time sent, by what ship or carrier, and time when receipt was acknowledged. He kept the list of shipping from those ports and entered them and all accounts delivered to the comptroller general in the proper book. He also kept a book containing copies of treasury warrants, entries of deputations, and opinions of counsel and solicitor. He assisted in writing general letters. The third clerk handled all the corresponding business for the northern district and also kept the books of establishments, patents, and constitutions. The fourth clerk assisted in writing general letters, copied papers, and did anything else required (Treas. 1:471). Another clerk appointed by the board was clerk of the minutes and examiner of the incidents (those of the ports, presumably). Unlike the other clerks he was not on the establishment, and Venner criticized his appointment as unnecessary. He was a friend and protégé of Hulton and made enemies among the commissioners by ridiculing them. In 1773 he was succeeded by Henry Humphreys (*Letters of a Loyalist Lady*, pp. 60-61).

⁸² A general letter dated January 11, 1768, asked the collectors to report on the following: extent of the district; whether boundaries had been ascertained by any authority; harbors, rivers, etc.; the officers, their appointment, salaries, etc.; and table of fees and when adopted (Essex Institute, Salem Record Book). The inspectors general also reported on these subjects. Correspondence of the board and other major officers with the ports has been studied in the Salem Letter Books and in the Customs Papers in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Vols. VII-XII, 1767-72.

task. In trying to carry through reforms in organization, however, it was dependent on the treasury. Whether the latter early lost confidence in the board, or for political reasons wished to keep power in its own hands, or questioned the advisability of decentralization, the fact is that it seemed to trust less to the discretion of the American commissioners in this period than it had to the English board in dealing with American affairs before 1767.⁸³ Without apparent justification the treasury often failed to approve recommendations of the board and even interfered in fields in which the latter was nominally competent to act alone.⁸⁴ A consideration of the board's experiences in handling certain problems such as that of too extensive customs districts, inconvenient location of custom houses, unsatisfactory personnel in the ports, and abuses in the fee system, will throw light on the board's administrative difficulties.

Under the jurisdiction of the board were forty-two regular ports of entry besides nine other centers where officers variously styled preventive officers, searchers, or surveyors were located.⁸⁵ Each port served as the headquarters for a district too large for adequate supervision by the officers of the ports. Abundant opportunity was thus offered for illegal trade both in New England, where the coast abounded in tiny

⁸³ Charles Townshend died in September, 1767. After a brief interim during which Lord Mansfield held the seal, Lord North accepted the office of chancellor of the exchequer and in 1770 succeeded to the position of first lord of the treasury, in which office he remained until the fall of the cabinet in 1782. The secretaries during this period were Thomas Bradshaw, Grafton's nominee, succeeded in 1770 by John Robinson, and Grey Cooper. The government's lack of confidence in the board in 1770 was mentioned by Charles Stewart, then in England, in private letters (Hist. Soc. of Pa., Customs Papers, XII, April 29 and June 6, 1770).

⁸⁴ A flagrant instance occurred in connection with employing a printer (Treas. 1:478, 492; 28:1, pp. 361 and 403; 29:41, p. 345, and 44, p. 37).

⁸⁵ The register of the inspector of imports and exports (Cus. 21:16) gives the following list: Newfoundland, Quebec, Halifax, Piscataqua, Falmouth, Salem and Marblehead, Boston, Rhode Island, New London, New Haven, New York, Perth Amboy, Burlington, Salem and Cohensey, Philadelphia, New Castle, Lewis, Pocomoke, Chester, Patuxent, North Patomack, Accomack, South Patomack, Rappahannock, York River, James River, the upper part, James River, the lower part, Currituck, Roanoke, Bath Towne, Beaufort, Brunswick, Wynyaw, Charles Towne, Port Royal, Savannah, Sunbury, St. Augustine, Pensacola, Mobile, Bahama, Bermuda. The cashier's accounts show the same number of ports but from 1771 include St. John's Island and list only a comptroller at Currituck (A.O. 1:844/1137). The nine other centers included Montreal, Delaware Bay, Williamstadt, Wicomico, Cape Charles, Elizabeth River, Annapolis, Georgetown, and St. Mary's River (and Currituck, according to Stewart's accounts). In 1771 there were 182 port officers, 93 on the establishment and 89 on incidents (Custom House, London, General Establishment, marked as "Prior to 8th Sept. 1767", but from internal evidence rather of the year 1771 or 1772). In 1767 there were 89 on the establishment (Custom House, Customs Establishment, American Colonies).

harbors inviting to smugglers, and in the south, where the rivers were navigable to the fall line. The boundaries between districts were vague, and disputes between officers over their jurisdictions were not infrequent. Furthermore, natural developments in commerce and industry during the eighteenth century, resulting in the growth of new towns and the decline of old, made the establishment of new ports of entry and possibly the abandonment of old ones desirable. The fact that collectors frequently selected sites for their custom houses to suit their own convenience rather than that of the merchants who came to them to do business rendered the situation even more unsatisfactory than it would otherwise have been.⁸⁶

Due regard for economy in the collection of the revenue made it impractical to add greatly to the number of ports or officers. Certain changes, however, seemed necessary. The board recommended, for instance, that Baltimore, which had become a thriving town, should be a port of entry with customs officers resident there. But the treasury, which alone could issue warrants for the appointment of new officers on the establishment, marked the board's recommendation "To be reconsidered", and there the matter rested.⁸⁷ When the board proposed to move the custom house from Williamsburg to Bermuda Hundred, the usual place of loading and unloading, the treasury, influenced apparently by a few prejudiced merchants, warned the board against this step and also instructed it never to consent to such a measure without the sanction of the treasury.⁸⁸ The consequence seems to have been to discourage changes in the location of ports or the establishment of new ones.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ The conditions which Inspector Williams described at Williamsburg were typical of those on many southern rivers. Masters of ships were accustomed to anchor in the river about a mile from shore at Burrell's Ferry, then go ashore and travel about five miles overland to Williamsburg to make their entries at the custom house. They then proceeded about fifty-five miles up the river to Bermuda Hundred where they unloaded their cargoes into small craft without any inspection or control. After reloading they came down the river, anchored again, and went overland to the custom house to clear (Treas. 1:476).

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 1:492. The board appointed a preventive officer for Baltimore but could do no more without the consent of the treasury.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 29:40, p. 203; 28:1, p. 345. The treasury's own proposal to move the custom house from St. Augustine to St. Mary's River in East Florida seems to have been ill-advised (*ibid.*, 28:1, p. 344). A preventive officer deserted from the latter place because there was no trade there (*ibid.*, 1:482). On the collector's advice the treasury authorized the board to move the custom house from Mobile to Ship Island if there was no objection (*ibid.*, 29:42, p. 218; 28:1, p. 385).

⁸⁹ The board refused a request for a separate custom house at Newport, Rhode Island (Boston *Chronicle*, Dec. 21, 1767, and Feb. 8, 1768). The addition of St. John's and the placing of Falmouth on the establishment and the transfer of Newfoundland to the juris-

In trying to improve the personnel of the system the board was to a great extent dependent upon the co-operation of the treasury. The board issued deputations to new officers to be placed on the establishment, but only on the authority of warrants signed by the treasury.⁹⁰ According to custom the board might take the initiative and present a name to the treasury, but for many years the treasury had nominated officers when it cared to do so without waiting for a presentment, and it continued this practice after the establishment of the American board. Consequently when the commissioners presented a name to the treasury for confirmation, they might learn that the treasury had already decided on its own nominee, or if the commissioners named a preventive officer for a certain place to be paid out of incidents, a privilege lying wholly within their rights,⁹¹ they might learn that the treasury had agreed to place an officer on the establishment there, taking the matter out of the board's hands.⁹² Had the treasury always assured itself that nominees were properly qualified for their posts, its exercise of the right to nominate officers would have had comparatively few ill effects; but this was not the case, for the treasury seems to have been more ready than the board to overlook certain requirements such as the one that no collector should engage in trade.⁹³

diction of the English board were the only changes made during this period (Treas. 28:1, pp. 300 and 357; 15 George III, c. 31).

⁹⁰ For form of deputation used by the American board see British Museum, Tab. 580.b.1. The exceptional method of appointing a collector by commission under the great seal was used in the case of the collector of Philadelphia. For warrant for the patent for Lauchlin McLean, Feb. 4, 1772, see Treas. 28:1, p. 372, and for patent, *ibid.*, 64:216, p. 198.

⁹¹ The collector and comptroller in the port might nominate incidental officers, but the board's approval was necessary because the board issued deputations and instructions to such officers, and, furthermore, no incidental payments were allowed in the collector's accounts without the consent of the board. The board assumed the patronage in the case of Philadelphia.

⁹² The board had the latter experience in appointing an officer for St. Mary's River in East Florida (*ibid.*, 28:1, p. 350). When officers were likely to have difficulty in obtaining security in America the treasury would accept it through its solicitor in England. The new officer would then give his personal bond to the commissioners in Boston and produce a certificate of having given security in England (*ibid.*, 1:465; 467; 29:39, pp. 102-103, 140; 28:1, p. 333; 11:28, p. 483). In 1771, in order to have the earliest opportunity for naming candidates, the treasury required the collectors in America to notify the treasury directly as well as the commissioners whenever vacancies occurred (*ibid.*, 29:41, p. 208; 28:1, p. 356).

⁹³ For instance, the treasury nominated William Smith as customs officer at Bonaventure. The commissioners protested because Smith was a merchant and often out of the province. The treasury thereupon withdrew the nomination but renewed it, having learned that Smith was "not a Merch^t so largely concerned in trade, as . . . represented" (*ibid.*, 29:40, p. 240; 41, p. 329; 42, p. 218; 28:1, pp. 346, 363, 377).

In acting as a court of last resort in cases of suspension the treasury could overrule the decision of the board, and by reinstating an officer against whom the board had brought serious charges the treasury may well have discouraged the board from using removal as a means of discipline.⁹⁴ Again, when acting on requests for leave, instead of referring such requests to the board the treasury often granted leaves on terms that interfered with general regulations and weakened the board's authority. Indeed, the treasury occasionally went so far as to grant leave when the board had refused it. The number and frequency of leaves granted by the treasury indicate that it was exceedingly generous;⁹⁵ under the circumstances it was not unnatural for the board itself to become lax in the matter.⁹⁶ Consequently numerous and extended leaves interfered with an attempt to abolish sinecures by requiring officers to reside within their districts.⁹⁷ An excellent practice previously followed in connection with leaves but allowed to lapse in this period was that of making deductions from the salary of the absent officer. Furthermore, it is at least doubtful whether the rule was enforced which required the officer requesting leave to secure the approval of the board for his deputy or substitute.⁹⁸ In general the treasury's practice in appointing, suspending, and removing officials and in granting them leave tended to weaken

⁹⁴ In the case of Fisher, collector of Salem and Marblehead, the treasury decided that the board had not been justified, inasmuch as the charges were not proved, and ordered Fisher's reinstatement. The case was one of the factors in the rift between Temple and the other members of the board, and the treasury action may have widened the rift. An indiscreet letter from the secretary to the treasury to Fisher gave him ground for believing the treasury considered him unjustly treated (*ibid.*, 1:465, 480; 29:40, p. 196; 28:1, pp. 336-37, 345).

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 28:1, p. 309 ff. for lists of leaves. At this time the treasury also departed from the custom of requiring officers asking for leave to produce a certificate from a physician showing that leave was necessary for reasons of health.

⁹⁶ For the board's action on requests for leave from Salem see Salem Letter Books.

⁹⁷ The riding surveyor on the Bohemia and Sassafras rivers resigned rather than comply with the requirement of residence (Treas. 1:465). His successor's experience is enlightening. Breaking with long-standing tradition he made a seizure for which he was tarred and feathered. "The Department of Surveyor of Sassafras & Bohemia", he wrote, "was never intended to be executed only possessed by Gentlemen for years past who were always absent & looked upon as Signacures but unfortunately I being the first Stationed there alarmed the People" (*ibid.*, 1:513).

⁹⁸ Treas. 28:1, p. 309, July 10, 1770, addressed to the commissioners of the customs in America contains the "Common Form" of treasury warrants for leave. The Salem Letter Book (Boston Custom House) contains the board's grants of leave with the mere stipulation that the officer should appoint a sufficient deputy for whom he should be responsible. Late in 1773 the treasury became aware of the injury to the service from the excessive number of leaves, asked for information from the board in regard to the leaves granted by the latter, and wrote directly to officers absent from their posts ordering them to return unless they could show good reason for failing to do so. Even in such belated attempts at

discipline and undermine the board's authority over its subordinates.

Merchants in England contributed to this unfortunate situation by registering complaint against American customs officers with the treasury rather than with the American board. The treasury conducted investigations and issued warnings or orders directly to the officers concerned, merely notifying the board in Boston of the action taken.⁹⁹ Merchants, therefore, as well as customs officers were inclined to look to the treasury rather than to the board at Boston for redress of grievances. Thus burdening itself unnecessarily with matters of routine, the treasury frequently failed to act in important matters of policy.

In attempting to reform the system of fees, for example, the board's efforts were completely frustrated because the treasury did not do its part. Neither officers nor merchants were satisfied with the system of fees, primarily because it lacked uniformity, but merchants also complained because the fees tended to increase in number and amount, and officers, because they were too low to give them a satisfactory income in certain ports.¹⁰⁰ Either of the following remedies was available: to establish uniform tables of fees throughout the colonies or to abolish fees altogether and substitute adequate salaries as the English board had recommended, and as had originally been tried in Quebec.¹⁰¹ The treasury went so far as to secure information from the board and from the colonial governors as to existing fees and the desirability of establishing new tables, but during the history of the American board it made no satisfactory settlement of a problem that for years had embittered relations between merchants and customs officers.¹⁰²

In general the records give the impression that the treasury lacked a comprehensive view of the board's problems. An occasional letter shows

reform the treasury taught the officers to look to it rather than to the board as the seat of initiative and authority (Treas. 28:1, pp. 369 and 397; 29:43, p. 244).

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 29:41, p. 262, for example.

¹⁰⁰ Papers in Treas. 1:482 indicate the great variation in fees and give the history of many fee disputes which involved not only merchants and customs officers but governors and colonial assemblies as well. The fees formed an important part of the officers' income in the busy ports. The Boston collectors' fees for a year and three months were valued at £1219.10.1 (*ibid.*, 29:58, p. 390). The estimate was based on fees taken in the year 1773 and was made to compensate Harrison for losses during the period of the Boston Port Bill. In general the board thought fees were too low, making it necessary for officers to engage in trade for a living (*ibid.*, 1:471).

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 1:416, Mar. 10, 1762. The Quebec officers considered that 5 George III, c. 45, gave them authority to collect fees, although they had originally been forbidden to do so. With the approval of the treasury the customs commissioners then reduced their salaries (*ibid.*, 11:28, p. 290, Jan. 24, 1766, and 1:465).

¹⁰² 10 George III, c. 37, like the earlier act, prohibited officers from taking higher fees than were received before September 29, 1764.

a masterly grasp of a particular situation, but such instances are rare.¹⁰³ On the whole the treasury failed, on the one hand, to leave the board free to use its own judgment wherever possible and, on the other, adequately to supplement the board's efforts at reform by action which only the treasury could undertake. In the actual enforcement of the acts of trade, however, and in the collection of the revenue, especially the latter, the treasury gave the board the utmost encouragement.

VI

For the enforcement of the acts of trade and revenue, that is, for the apprehension of smugglers, the seizure of smuggled goods, and for prosecutions, the co-operation of various officials outside the customs service was indispensable. Colonial governors, the post office, the army, the navy, judges in the courts, local government officials, diplomats and consuls abroad, all added in one way or another to the efficiency of the customs system or by their particular failures handicapped the American board. Especially did the lack of a thoroughly integrated administrative system hinder the enforcement of the laws. The treasury, because of the strategic position which the first lord had acquired in the British system of government, could do much to secure the aid of other departments, but co-operation of subordinate officials was never certain.

As chief executive, the governor, at least in the royal province, might have been expected to render most effective assistance to the board. The governors had borne considerable responsibility in connection with the customs, but they no doubt resented the new board because it tended to deprive them of much of their authority.¹⁰⁴ Lack of a clear division of jurisdiction led to unfortunate conflicts between the board and the governors. The board finally begged for instructions from the secretary of state to prevent the governors from interfering with its orders;¹⁰⁵ but trouble continued down to the Revolution.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ Grey Cooper's letter (Treas. 28:1, p. 338 ff.). Cooper wrote this letter rather than Bradshaw, who usually handled the correspondence with the American board. Cooper, unlike Bradshaw, had been in office when the plan for establishing the board was being formulated and after Townshend's death probably knew more of the plan than anyone else at the treasury.

¹⁰⁴ From the beginning the board felt lack of support on the part of Governor Bernard. In many colonies there were quarrels between the naval officer and the custom house officers. According to Governor Wentworth, the naval officer was considered by some obsolete (letter of Mar. 23, 1771, *ibid.*, 1:484).

¹⁰⁵ Aug. 4, 1770, *ibid.*, 1:476. From Newfoundland to Florida officers complained of the failure of the governors to give them assistance (for example, Newfoundland, *ibid.*, 27:30, p. 342; and Florida, *ibid.*, 29:41, p. 215).

¹⁰⁶ Governor Carleton of Canada expressed himself bitterly in regard to the insubor-

To check illicit trade an adequate system of communication between England and America and among the American ports was requisite, so that the proper officials might receive word promptly when vessels were under suspicion. English customs officers were to inform the treasury, which sent warning to the board in Boston and sometimes, in case of a clearance from an English port, to the American officer for whose port the ship in question was bound. The board acted as a clearinghouse for information of this kind in America, although the collectors also were supposed to communicate directly with each other.¹⁰⁷ On the recommendation of the board the treasury secured the co-operation of the secretary of state in obtaining information from ministers, consuls, and other British agents abroad who were bound to notify the Boston board whenever British vessels arrived in their ports from North America or sailed thither and to indicate the cargo carried and any other pertinent facts.¹⁰⁸ Officers of both the army and the navy also kept watch for evidence of smuggling and reported to the proper authorities.¹⁰⁹ Means of communication upon which the success of the system depended improved greatly during the eighteenth century, but neither the packet system nor the American post office gave as frequent or as reliable service as desired by the board.¹¹⁰

The navy took an active part in enforcing the trade and revenue laws, for many officers held deputations from the board of customs, which authorized them to seize ships or goods involved in a violation

dination of "inferior Officers of Government, proud of the Superior Weight and Influence of the Boards, whence their Commissions issue"; and many another governor probably echoed his sentiments (*ibid.*, 1:515). Quarrels developed in South Carolina, New Jersey, and Virginia over appointments (*ibid.*, 1:491, 492, 515). In South Carolina two men both claimed the collector's office, one under a commission from the governor and the other under a deputation from the board.

¹⁰⁷ A letter from the board dated August 23, 1768, chided the officers with being remiss in their correspondence with each other "on which the Good of the Service so much depends" (Essex Institute, Salem Record Book, p. 233). Officers were to send copies of their seals and signatures to all the ports for purpose of identification and comparison.

¹⁰⁸ Treas. 29:39, pp. 238 and 268; 27:30, p. 82. If diplomats or consuls found it necessary to employ confidential agents, the treasury would reimburse them. On the whole the foreign agents gave considerable information, but usually it was too vague or lacking in proof to be useful for prosecution. The treasury under Grenville had introduced similar measures in 1764 (*ibid.*, 36, p. 27).

¹⁰⁹ General Gage's correspondence from the Illinois country, for example, contained information about trade, which was forwarded by the treasury to the board for the latter's use (*ibid.*, 41, p. 245; 11:29, p. 483).

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1:465, 472. The board suggested shorter stages for the post and that packets should deliver mail in Rhode Island to be forwarded by post to New York and Boston.

of the law.¹¹¹ His majesty's officers considered these duties beneath them.¹¹² The revenue from their seizures, although small in relation to the number of ships engaged, testifies to their activity, but the discouragement to smugglers was probably more important than the actual income from this source. As for seizures on land, local government officials, justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs, constables, bailiffs, and headboroughs were bound by the terms of the board's patent to assist it and all its deputies on pain of the royal displeasure. Experience showed, however, that the royal displeasure was comparatively remote and popular resentment against all who aided the customs officers, uncomfortably near, so that the latter were unable to count on the aid of the local government.

The colonial courts definitely obstructed the customs officers, for many of them refused to issue writs of assistance to aid the officers in making seizures, even after such writs had been legalized by act of parliament.¹¹³ In the face of popular disapproval lawyers hesitated to act as counsel for customs officers.¹¹⁴ Only attorneys general with

¹¹¹ 4 George III, c. 15, promised one half of the value of seized goods and penalties to the seizer in case of seizures at sea. Employing the navy generally for this purpose dated from 1763 (George Louis Beer, *British Colonial Policy, 1754-1765*, New York, 1922, p. 229); 3 George III, c. 22. In case of seizures on land one third went to the seizer. Treas. 1:402 contains printed instructions to commanders with deputations and Treas. 1:426 contains the order in council of June 1, 1763, relating to the distribution of the moiety among officers and seamen.

¹¹² Admiral Montague to the admiralty, Treas. 1:489; Lieutenant Governor Colden to the Earl of Dartmouth, *ibid.*, 1:517. There was considerable friction over the apportionment of costs for this service as between the treasury and the admiralty (*ibid.*, 1:492; 29:42, p. 203). The receipts from this source were reported separately and increased as those from other sources declined. Over a period of nine years they varied from £110 to £5808 (A.O. 1:843/1134). In 1770 forty-three ships of the line were in American waters, and in 1771, sixty-three (Treas. 1:478, 482).

¹¹³ Publicity resulting from suing out a search warrant often prevented officers from seizing goods, as the owners, having due warning, would remove them to safety. Theoretically, writs of assistance, in the nature of general warrants, were designed to remove such difficulties. After repeated instances of refusal by the courts to issue the writs, the treasury referred the matter to the crown law officers, who assumed that refusal was based on ignorance (Treas. 1:465, June 3, 1768). The treasury then sent a copy of the writ as issued by the court of exchequer in England to the board with directions to send copies to the port officers who should present them to the colonial courts with their petitions. After two years, during which there had been little or no success, the treasury appealed to the crown law officers for suggestions as to how the colonial courts could be forced to comply. The law officers replied that there was no satisfactory means of control as the courts were outside the realm and no writ of mandamus would be effectual (*ibid.*, 485, Aug. 31, 1771). The courts in Connecticut, Rhode Island, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Georgia were obstinate to the end. Virginia failed to follow the accepted form, and New York was late in granting the petition (*ibid.*, 491 and 492).

¹¹⁴ For the situation in South Carolina and Pennsylvania see *ibid.*, 459 and 491.

salaries from the crown felt that they could afford to accept such clients. Consequently, if despite all obstacles officers were able to seize uncus-tomed goods, they found it difficult to carry on a prosecution. The board and the treasury, however, gave what support was within their power. The board gave advice based on reports made by its solicitor, and the treasury, on statements of the attorney and solicitor general in England. Furthermore, the recommendation of the board, approved by the treasury, often secured financial aid for officers carrying on prosecu-tions.¹¹⁵ If an appeal were made to England, the treasury solicitor might handle the case at the expense of the crown.¹¹⁶ All that the treasury might do, nevertheless, could not compensate for the lack of co-operation on the part of civil officials in America. Among the causes of the board's failure, therefore, may be included general defects in colonial govern-ment. When the board was obliged to rely on the army and the navy for support, its own fate was sealed.

VII

On the evacuation of Boston by General Howe, March 17, 1776, the American board of customs, once more under the protection of the British navy, took ship for Halifax.¹¹⁷ After a few weeks they sailed for England, where they arrived late in September, never to resume their duties in America again.¹¹⁸ They were rarely consulted by the treasury

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 28:1, p. 359, for example. If the officers were vexed with counter suits in the common law courts on a technical charge, the treasury might authorize the board to pay for their defense (*ibid.*, 29:40, p. 306; 28:1, p. 378). Revenue from seizures by officers was very light the first year but increased (A.O. 1:844/1137).

¹¹⁶ General advice of the treasury to the board, July 12, 1771, included rewarding deserving officers, punishing those who were remiss, and supporting officers in prosecu-tions (Treas. 29:41, pp. 222-23). See *ibid.*, 43, pp. 152 and 200, for a case begun in Rhode Island. Offsetting the assistance of the treasury was the possibility that it might interfere with a prosecution begun by order of the board by calling for a stay of process (*ibid.*, 44, p. 373; 28:1, pp. 353 and 416; 1:515). The establishment of the vice-admiralty courts of appeal simplified appeals. But for a case appealed from the vice-admiralty court in St. John's, 1776, to the court of admiralty in England, for which an appearance to the appeal was entered by the agent of the American board by treasury order, see *ibid.*, 29:45, p. 230.

¹¹⁷ Rowe's *Diary*, pp. 304-305. The ships lingered in Nantasket Roads for ten days before proceeding to Halifax. Letters written to the treasury from Halifax were dated June 5, 1776 (Treas. 29:45, p. 249); and house rent was paid for the period of April 5-July 5 (A.O. 1:844/1137). The board evidently sailed with Captain William Lester on the *Hellespont* (*ibid.*).

¹¹⁸ Date of return to England, Michaelmas, 1776, according to Stewart (Treas. 29:57, p. 93). They continued to draw salaries until the revocation of their patent in 1783, although there were intervals when they were without pay, and the treasury at one time declared that they should expect no further salary (*ibid.*, 52, pp. 116, 175; 54, pp. 207-208; 55, p. 48; 28:2, p. 122). When funds in the cashier's hands were exhausted they

except to furnish lists of customs officers then in England to whom salaries were due or to make appointments to the ports still under British control.¹¹⁹ In America the officers in the loyal ports corresponded directly with the treasury rather than with the board, and in sections under the control of the military forces of the crown, customs officers deposited their receipts in the military chest and received their salaries from the deputy paymaster of the forces.¹²⁰ On November 22, 1783, the American board's patent was revoked, and the ports remaining in British hands after the Peace of Paris came again within the jurisdiction of the English commissioners.¹²¹

In establishing the ill-fated American board of customs the British government had had four distinct but closely related purposes: to improve the collection and receipt of duties, to support the revenue officers in detecting and suppressing fraud, to protect honest merchants against the abuse of power, and to conciliate the American public.¹²² In order

received allowances as other American loyalists did (*ibid.*, 29:55, p. 480); and this was the case after the patent was revoked.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 28:2, p. 10. On the recommendation of the board, the treasury dispensed with the usual rule that collectors and comptrollers should not receive their salaries until they had deposited their quarterly books of accounts with the comptroller general. Although the board had discharged its incidental officers at Halifax, they continued to receive their salaries (*ibid.*, 28:1, pp. 451-53, 463, 477, 479, 496; 1:520).

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 28:1, p. 468; 29:52, p. 170; 29:55, p. 426.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 29:56, p. 47; 29:54, pp. 224, 241, 345; 28:2, p. 185. The act authorizing the establishment of the board was not repealed until 1825 (6 George IV, c. 105). In 1784 the treasury authorized the former commissioners to transfer their records to the English board (Treas. 29:55, p. 140). Presumably most of the records were lost in the fire of 1814 which destroyed the custom house. The offices of cashier and comptroller remained in existence until their final accounts were audited in 1790 (A.O. 1:843/1135 and 844/-1139). John Martin Leake's account was audited in 1786 (*ibid.*, 844/1140). In the nineteenth century numerous collectors continued to be indebted to the crown, according to notes made by a clerk on Stewart's final account and a draft journal of insupers containing a list of such persons, dating from the year 1806 or 1807 (*ibid.*, 16:105). The notes are rather obscure but indicate that some of the accounts were finally cleared in one way or another. Because of the destruction of books and papers during the Revolution, many collectors were unable to produce the vouchers required for a regular audit (Treas. 1:520). Even James Porter required a special treasury warrant to permit the auditors to pass his accounts without certain vouchers (*ibid.*, 29:55, pp. 115, 321). The names of those remaining insuper on the accounts were sent to the American claims office for reference in connection with granting compensation (A.O. 7:5, Nov. 19, 1789). Many of the officers who had served in America secured new appointments, for it was the policy of the treasury to give American sufferers preference (Treas. 29:55, p. 110). Those who could not be provided for in this way received pensions for the remainder of their lives (*ibid.*, p. 480). In one case the treasury appointed a man to office on condition that he pay £700 annually from his profits to be distributed among six former American officers (*ibid.*, 58, p. 163).

¹²² Treas. 28:1, p. 342.

properly to appraise the board's accomplishments, it is necessary to examine them in relation to the above objects.

As for the first, the board not only made a conscientious effort to introduce reforms which would increase the revenue but was moderately successful. Under the better system of accounting whereby imports at one place could be compared with exports from another, there was less opportunity than formerly for collectors to conceal the true facts of trade and divert funds to their own use, to connive with merchants to cheat the crown, or even to spend unnecessary amounts on incidents.¹²³ These reforms must have had a beneficial effect upon the revenue. The recorded costs of management, on the other hand, rose decidedly, because of an increase in salaries and incidental expenses of the board and its officers and a growth in the costs of managing the ports, the result of an increase in the number of outdoor officers authorized by the board. In spite of these additions to the expenditures the cashier during the first nine years not only paid from the customs under the board's jurisdiction the salaries of various civil officials unconnected with the customs system, amounting to a total of more than £32,000, but sent to England to be deposited in the exchequer a sum which averaged between £8000 and £9000 annually.¹²⁴

Were these results to be compared with the American revenue in the period before 1763, the contrast would appear significant, for according to Grenville's oft-quoted estimates, in that earlier period the revenue from the American continent and the West Indies combined was only

¹²³ In an early general letter the board announced that it suspected that the revenue had been defrauded by the "collusion and remissness" of officers and warned them to be vigilant and to report the negligence of others (Essex Institute, Salem Record Book, p. 216). It insisted that collectors should make frequent remittances to the cashier and tried to prevent them from keeping unnecessarily large sums on hand. Accounts of incident charges, after being examined by a clerk for comparison with standing and special orders of the board and with accompanying vouchers, were approved by the board or returned to the collectors for revision. The collector was held responsible for all expenditures not allowed by the board. Incidents were to be charged to the fund under which they accrued. *Ibid.*, pp. 216, 224, 266, 294, 304. Similar directions are to be found in the Philadelphia letters, which also reveal the difficulties of the officers in following apparently contradictory orders.

¹²⁴ The total expenses of management for the first nine and a quarter years, including a few rewards, amounted to £138,282.17.3¼ or an average of nearly £15,000 a year, paid by the cashier, and a total of £46,675.5.8 paid by the collectors in the ports, or an average of £5000 annually, which together make an annual payment of approximately £20,000 (A.O. 1:843/1134 and 844/1137). The Salem Record Book and the Customs Papers in Philadelphia show increases in the number of officers. Bills for incidents throughout the ports varied greatly from year to year but were nearly three times as much in 1773 as in 1768. They declined in succeeding years (A.O. 1:843/1134).

about one quarter of the cost of collection.¹²⁵ Between 1764 and 1767, however, reforms in administration and changes in the laws had already resulted in a decided increase in revenue.¹²⁶ A mathematical comparison of the receipts of the customs under the American board with those in the period from 1764 to 1767, from which reliable conclusions might be drawn as to the competence of the board, is impossible because of various complicating factors such as changing economic conditions, nonimportation agreements, and changes in the revenue laws. Furthermore, the unsatisfactory system of accounting that prevailed before 1767 makes even the available statistics somewhat questionable as a guide to the actual receipts.¹²⁷ Nevertheless, that there was some improvement in the revenue after 1767 appears evident from the fact that as far as the acts of 6 George II, 4 George III, and 6 George III are concerned the annual receipt of the cashier from the ports governed by the board from 1767 to 1775 was approximately equal to the annual deposit in the exchequer from all the colonies during the two years preceding the board's establishment.¹²⁸ It is significant also that the income from these particular acts varied little from year to year in the period between 1767 and 1775

¹²⁵ *Grenville Papers*, II, 113-14; [George Grenville?], *The Regulations Lately made concerning the Colonies and the Taxes imposed upon them, Considered* (London, 1765), p. 57. Accounts of the revenue from the two acts of 1673 and 1733, showing an average net revenue of £1800 as contrasted with £4700 before 1760 and £7600 after that date, support Grenville's estimates (Add. MSS., 38335, ff. 144 ff.). So-called net revenue was not really net, as before 1767 many salaries on the colonial establishment were paid from English subsidies. Officers in the islands which paid the 4½ per cent duty were paid from that duty, those in Jamaica, from the duties on enumerated commodities (*ibid.*, 8831, pp. 212 ff.).

¹²⁶ The average annual receipt from the act of 1733 during the first four years of George III's reign was £3225 (*Parliamentary Papers, Return of Public Income and Expenditure*, 1869, Part II, p. 403). According to Beer the act of 1764 while it was in force produced about £25,000 annually (p. 283 and note). During the first half year the act produced nearly £7000 on the continent alone, of which £2798.0.0½ was deposited in the exchequer (*Library of Congress Transcripts*, Add. MSS., 8133 C., f.233).

¹²⁷ Only with the establishment of the board were collectors' accounts so kept that they could be included in the comptroller general's accounts and subjected to a regular audit, and then only in the case of the ports actually under the board. Previously plantation accounts had all been declared before the London board, whose certificate was sufficient for the discharge of the collector's bond. Accounts submitted to parliament usually included only the receipts of the receiver general from the plantations and his expenditures (Danby's instructions for audit, Aug. 15, 1677, G.D. 32:38, pp. 338-39; *The Reports of the Commissioners appointed to examine, take, and state the Public Accounts of the Kingdom*, London, 1783-87, III, 718; rare states of accounts, 1677-86, A.O. 2:582/2 and 3:305/1, 2, and 3).

¹²⁸ A.O. 1:844/1137 and Beer, p. 283, n. 1. These receipts and deposits are comparable for the reason that before 1767 the costs of management paid in England were not taken from the American receipts.

in spite of the active opposition of the American public.¹²⁹ Had the port officers been left to themselves, it seems likely that they would have abandoned the attempt to enforce the laws much earlier than they did. But whatever the effect of the board may have been, from the point of view of the treasury the results were far from satisfactory. Not only did the American customs system fail to produce the estimated revenue to provide for civil officials and to pay part of the expense of maintaining troops in America, but additional naval and military expenditures were required to maintain the system, and in the end even these failed.¹³⁰

As for the second object for which the board had been established, supporting the revenue officers in detecting and suppressing fraud, the evidence is conflicting. Certainly the board gave assistance by furnishing information and by aiding in prosecution; it promptly rewarded unusual diligence and punished negligence; and its presence in America may have strengthened the officers' morale; but the board and its officers testified to the impossibility of preventing smuggling without military assistance.¹³¹ The great increase in violent methods of evading the customs would seem, however, to point to the closing of the normal, easy avenues of illegal trade. Indeed, the tremendous increase in revenue from seizures during the years of the board's administration indicates a greater activity in this respect on the part of both customs officers and officers of the navy.¹³²

The third object for which the board had been created was to protect the merchants from injustice. The records show that the board administered the laws with this purpose very definitely in mind. It did not permit merchants who unintentionally violated the law to suffer the penalties; it interpreted the laws and its own instructions to their advantage; and it even objected to prosecuting merchants for failure to fulfill the terms of their bonds lest such action increase their hostility to

¹²⁹ Receipts from the plantation duties, on the other hand, varied from £320 to £1533; receipts from the act of 1767, before the partial repeal of 1770, declined from £9723 to £3413, and after 1770 from £4596 to £987 (A.O. 1:844/1137).

¹³⁰ In 1765 the North American military establishment was £201,712 (Add. MSS., 38339, f. 180), and it increased in later years (Treas. 1:454). See Beer, p. 267, for a discussion of military expenses in 1764-66. Shelburne thought an estimate of £400,000 for American defense too high (Fitzmaurice, *Life of Shelburne*, II, 32).

¹³¹ The board declared that smuggling increased in 1771 (Treas. 1:482). The Salem Record Book contains many illustrations of rewards and punishments of outdoor officers.

¹³² Stewart's accounts mention twenty-six ships seized (A.O. 1:844/1137). The cashier's receipts from seizures by customs officers varied from £8.0.0 in 1768 to £1403 in 1774, but many incidents in the ports had already been paid from this fund (*ibid.*, 1:843/1134). For seizures by officers of the navy see above, note 112.

the revenue acts.¹³³ But the real intention of the British government had been to appease the merchants from whom the revenue was derived, and this the board could not do.

With regard to the fourth point the board's failure was most conspicuous. Instead of securing a cheerful obedience to the authority of parliament, it provided one of the inciting causes of the Revolution.

Regardless of these failures, the board was not primarily responsible for the collapse of Townshend's experiment. Laxity and incompetence, which had characterized British colonial administration for a generation, had bred disrespect and independence in the colonies, too powerful for a handful of even the most able and well-meaning officials to overcome. But more important than the faults of administration in causing the board's ultimate failure was the fact that Americans rejected the fundamental theory on which the board had been established: the right of parliament to tax them for purposes of revenue.

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¹³³ Treas. 1:471. Philadelphia had the largest number of bonds uncanceled and forfeit: 1155 in the collector's office and 35 in the naval office. The treasury left it to the judgment of the board to do what was best for the revenue (*ibid.*, 28:1, p. 355); and judging from the Salem and Philadelphia correspondence such prosecutions were exceedingly rare. Opposition of merchants to the system of bonds increased with the introduction of the bond for nonenumerated commodities (6 George III, c. 52, § 30).

ON REWRITING RECONSTRUCTION HISTORY¹

For many years both Northerners and Southerners who wrote on Reconstruction were dominated by sectional feelings still embittered by the Civil War. Men of the postwar decades were more concerned with justifying their own position than they were with painstaking search for truth. Thus Hilary Herbert and his corroborators presented a Southern indictment of Northern policies, and Henry Wilson's history was a brief for the North. Few Southerners were writing history. Northern historians long accepted the thesis of Radical Republicans that Radicals had saved the Union by their Reconstruction program, that their Democratic opponents were traitors, and that Andrew Johnson was a drunkard and an incompetent. A much-needed revision came at about the turn of the century, associated principally with Rhodes and the "Dunning school". For the first time meticulous and thorough research was carried on in an effort to determine the truth rather than to prove a thesis. The emphasis of the Dunning school was upon the harm done to the South by Radical Reconstruction and upon the sordid political and economic motives behind Radicalism. Rhodes and the Dunning group drew a picture of a South that—but for outside interference—might have made a happy and practical readjustment suited to the new social, economic, and political order. Rhodes, however, while crediting the President's faults to weakness rather than to wickedness, yet accepted the older picture of Andrew Johnson and blamed his mistakes for much of the disaster that overtook the South. Then still another group rehabilitated Johnson. Dewitt rewrote the story of the impeachment as early as 1902.² Schouler's last volume, which appeared in 1913, carried the revision further.³ In the twenties a group of historians completed the process with several detailed studies of Johnson's career.⁴ About the same time Bowers gave the public his rather superficial but

¹ Based on a paper read at a meeting of the Southern Historical Association on November 3, 1939.

² David Miller Dewitt, *The Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson* (New York, 1903).

³ James Schouler, *History of the United States of America under the Constitution*, Vol. VII (New York, 1913).

⁴ Robert W. Winston, *Andrew Johnson, Plebeian and Patriot* (New York, 1928); Lloyd Paul Stryker, *Andrew Johnson: A Study in Courage* (New York, 1936); George Fort Milton, *The Age of Hate* (New York, 1930).

widely read study of the period.⁵ His work was based on the serious study of the revisionists. It accepted their reinterpretations. But it departed so far from the older pro-Republican point of view that it became almost a Democratic campaign document. Feeling that the pendulum had swung too far, several younger historians have initiated a new revision. As far as it has gone, this latest rewriting seems to stand upon substantial ground. Yet its point of view has not become "classic", as the Dunning reinterpretation did. The ideas of the Dunning school still largely influence writing on the Reconstruction period.

It would seem that it is now time for a younger generation of Southern historians to cease lauding those who "restored white supremacy" and instead to begin analyzing the restorationists' interests to see just what they stood *for* in opposing the Radicals. Such a study of Reconstruction will certainly rehabilitate some of the Radical leaders in the South, even as the equally denounced President of the United States was rehabilitated a few years ago. A constituent for whom Sumner had obtained a Freedmen's Bureau appointment once wrote Sumner from the South: "After six months of intimate association I have determined on the startling proposition that a man is not necessarily a saint because black, nor a devil, because white."⁶ Even Northern historians would universally accept this once "startling proposition". Yet some of them have approached dangerously near to its converse. In accepting the terms "carpetbagger" and "scalawag" historians have almost inevitably accepted certain contemporary biases along with the suggestive names. Is it not time that we studied the history of Reconstruction without first assuming, at least subconsciously, that carpetbaggers and Southern white Republicans were wicked, that Negroes were illiterate incompetents, and that the whole white South owes a debt of gratitude to the restorers of "white supremacy"?

Some young historians, most of them Southerners, have already answered this question affirmatively by proceeding to write history in a new spirit. Just as Rhodes, Dunning, Dunning's pupils, and others of the Dunning school rendered a service a generation ago by careful researches into political sources and by writing with an attitude freed from the war animosities of their fathers, so another new generation has begun to retell the story in terms of the economic and social forces at work and without the preconceptions that limited the earlier group. Of the Dunning school itself a few, like Mildred Thompson, Flem-

⁵ Claude G. Bowers, *The Tragic Era* (Cambridge, 1929).

⁶ J. C. Beecher from Summerville, South Carolina, to Charles Sumner, Oct. 25, 1867, Sumner MSS., LXXIV, Widener Library, Harvard University.

ing, and Garner, delved into social and economic life, though without seeing its full implication; Miss Lonn and Miss Thompson, to a certain extent, and Garner, notably, escaped from the restricting frames of reference of the others.⁷ Years ago Alex Mathews Arnett led the way in reinterpretation of Georgia Bourbons.⁸ Among the younger historians to whom we must turn for reinterpretation are Francis B. Simkins, C. Vann Woodward, Horace Mann Bond, Vernon L. Wharton, Paul Lewinson, Roger W. Shugg, James S. Allen. And there is one, no longer young, W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, whose race and social philosophy give his work, *Black Reconstruction*,⁹ freshness. Du Bois's volume is far too wordy; it is distorted by insistence upon molding facts into a Marxian pattern.¹⁰ Yet in describing the Negro's role Du Bois has presented a mass of material, formerly ignored, that every future historian must reckon with. Allen's application of Marxian theory to the period has also forced upon those of us who do not accept his general interpretation certain important modifications of our own points of view.¹¹ From a non-Marxian point of view Shugg has described in one state the class struggle between merchants and planters, on the one hand, and small farmers and laborers, on the other, and has pointed out that this conflict began in ante-bellum days and continued through Populism.¹² Lewinson pioneered ten years ago in restudying the Negro's place in Southern history.¹³ Wharton, a native Mississippian, in a study of the Negro in his state from 1860 to 1890, has presented facts that are

⁷ Ella Lonn, of course, like several others of the group, was not a student of Dunning's, but she is nonetheless one of the most distinguished members of the "Dunning school".

⁸ *The Populist Movement in Georgia: A View of the "Agrarian Crusade" in the Light of Solid-South Politics* (New York, 1922).

⁹ New York, 1935.

¹⁰ Some Marxists would disown Du Bois. Yet his interpretation he owes to Marx's influence. Perhaps it would be fairer to Marx to call Du Bois a quasi-Marxist.

¹¹ *Reconstruction* (New York, 1937).

¹² *Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana: A Social History of White Farmers and Laborers during Slavery and after, 1840-1875* (University, La., 1939). Unfortunately, though he does an admirable job in tracing the class struggle and its implications, Shugg merely mentions casually in passing many of the most important factors, such as corruption under the Conservatives before Radicals came into power, the relation of business to government, the profit that respectable Southern whites made from Radical corruption, the failure of the Radicals to accomplish important social reforms, and their effect upon education. This is a pity since he has brought such fine understanding to the development of his major thesis. Furthermore, by his failure to carry his study on through the days of the restorationists up to the full flowering of Populism, he fails to shed the light on Reconstruction itself that a comparison of Bourbon conservatism with the Radicalism it overthrew would have made possible.

¹³ *Race, Class, and Party* (New York, 1932).

revolutionary in their significance for Reconstruction history.¹⁴ In a most provocative study of Alabama, Bond has revealed the determining influence that business interests exerted upon the political struggles in that state.¹⁵ In his study of the Georgia Bourbons, whom he calls "New Departure Democrats", Woodward has brought understanding to what has been a veritable "dark age" in American history.¹⁶ Simkins and Woody, in their work on still another state, have been unusually fair-minded toward the Negro and the white Reconstructionist and have shown interest in social and economic forces.¹⁷ Simkins's work on South Carolina, together with his various suggestions of other important factors, ranks him as a leader in fundamental reinterpretation.¹⁸

It is my purpose to suggest further studies and changed points of view necessary to a full understanding of Reconstruction. What I say must be tentative. It can merely raise questions and suggest work that needs doing, for until much work of this newer sort is done, we shall not have the facts from which to generalize with any assurance.

First, we need to stop passing judgment on persons and to begin studying forces. It is not so important to know whether a few more or a few less carpetbaggers or so-called scalawags were righteous or iniquitous as it is to know what social and economic forces brought them to power and motivated them. Furthermore, it is time to stop defending or attacking opponents of Radical rule and to discover what the Conservatives' interests were and what forces actually controlled their actions. Our judgments upon either group are relatively unimportant in history. An understanding of the bewildering complexity of conflicting interests and social phenomena of the day has been lost in the midst of historians' proud or unconscious partisanship for or against Radicals, Conservatives, Negroes, scalawags, or restorers of white supremacy.

¹⁴ "The Negro in Mississippi, 1865-1890", MS. Ph.D. dissertation at the University of North Carolina.

¹⁵ *Negro Education in Alabama: A Study in Cotton and Steel* (Washington, 1939). See also "Social and Economic Forces in Alabama Reconstruction", *Journal of Negro History*, XXIII (July, 1938), 290-348.

¹⁶ *Tom Watson, Agrarian Rebel* (New York, 1938), pp. 52-190. See also "Tom Watson and the Negro in Agrarian Politics", *Journal of Southern History*, IV (Feb., 1938), 14-33, and an unpublished article, "Bourbonism in Georgia", read at the 1937 meeting of the Southern Historical Association in Durham.

¹⁷ Francis Butler Simkins and Robert Hilliard Woody, *South Carolina during Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill, 1932); Simkins, *The Tillman Movement in South Carolina* (Durham, 1926).

¹⁸ See, e.g., his "New Viewpoints of Southern Reconstruction", *Jour. Southern Hist.*, V (Feb., 1939), 49-61.

Secondly, we can understand Reconstruction only if we study it in its setting. Most Southerners have treated the Reconstruction period in American history as if it were *Southern* history, whereas even the history of the South during this period can be understood only as part of our national history. We must cease considering Reconstruction as a heart-rending story of oppressed and oppressing personalities isolated in time and space. For instance, the corruption of Southern Radical legislatures has been usually attributed to the peculiar nature of the Northerners who came south, the lack of character of Southern men who supported them, and the naïveté of newly freed Negroes. It seems probable that more important as causes of corruption were the same factors that at the same time were corrupting Northern state legislatures, the purely Democratic Tweed Ring in New York City, and congressmen and members of the Grant administration in Washington. It seems likely that the same factors caused corruption then that caused it among Southern ruling whites when in Van Buren's day numerous Southern Democratic land agents stole public funds. Public office has been used to further personal interests under the Bourbons who threw the Radicals out and in our own day by the conservative friends of business whom Huey Long displaced and by Long's followers who had denounced their predecessors. And there are other Southern states that cannot cast stones at Louisiana. Radical corruption will not be understood by those who insist that it was a peculiar Radical phenomenon of the period 1868-77.¹⁹

Similarly, the extravagance of Radical legislatures can be understood only as part of a national era of expansion that affected Western and Northern states, Northern cities, and the Federal government. All of these were using public funds lavishly and unwisely to further "progress".²⁰ So, too, have other Americans done—including Southern aristo-

¹⁹ For instance, in Louisiana, where corruption under the Radicals attained as serious proportions as anywhere, Shugg points out that in the Conservative loyalist convention of 1864 there was an "enormous waste of public money by a body in which neither carpet-baggers nor corrupt Negroes were present". He ascribes this in part to "the blunders and peculations" of members "too unaccustomed to politics to be well tutored in the management of public affairs" (pp. 202-203). He concludes that it is "important to realize that no race, class, or party could lay a virtuous claim to clean hands" (p. 226).

²⁰ In the bad situation in Louisiana Shugg again points out that, irrespective of party, "politicians bribed legislators for party and parish favors, and business men and corporations bribed the politicians for economic privileges". He quotes a congressional report that testifies: "The legislative corruption involves both parties. Among the principal movers of legislative jobs were wealthy, influential, and highly respectable democrats." He cites Governor Warmoth's testimony "on Democratic votes for four railway subsidies" (*ibid.*). The pity is that he did not investigate this factor in his class struggle with the same thoroughness and fine spirit that he applied to other aspects of that class struggle.

crats in Jackson's day, Bourbons after Reconstruction, and Americans of all sections again in the 1920's. Writers of Reconstruction history have felt it unimportant to study the causes and effects in the South of the panic of 1873. Yet these causes and effects were important in determining the political history of Southern states.

Furthermore, the influx of Northerners into the South needs to be separated from the usual assumption that for Northerners to move into the South was somehow proof of vicious or vindictive natures. This postwar migration must be studied apart from emotions and as one of the many movements of population that have been important in our national development. We need to study its causes and effects without advance moral judgment on the participants, just as we study the Westward migrations at all stages of our history, the movement of Southerners into the Northwest long before the Civil War, the migration of country folk to cities, of Europeans to America, of French Canadians to New England, of Southern Negroes to Northern cities in the twentieth century, and of thousands of young white Southerners of our own day to the North. Usually the hope was for better economic opportunities. Many Northerners who came south were honest citizens seeking to contribute to the well-being of their new homeland through activities that would have been welcomed had they moved west instead of south. Only when we have ceased condemning them and have studied the Northerners who moved south and differentiated them according to the various motives and interests and types they represented shall we understand their part in Reconstruction.

Many of the severest critics of Reconstruction governments hold up the ante-bellum South as America's nearest approach to Utopia. We need to remind ourselves constantly that it was this ante-bellum life that had fastened ignorance or inexperience upon millions of whites as well as Negroes and that it was this ignorance and inexperience that caused trouble when Radicals were in power. The North had then and the nation has now a similar problem of making democracy work among ignorant and inexperienced people. Yet, in spite of the labors of educational leaders, the wealthy Southerner of ante-bellum days, except where the power of poorer men forced it on him, seldom recognized the need for general education of even the *white* masses.²¹ When he

²¹ Shugg, for instance, points out: "Nothing was done to remedy these conditions [the inadequacies of popular education] because of the indifference of wealthy planters and Creoles toward popular education. Their apathy was chiefly responsible for the failure of free schools in Louisiana before the Civil War" (*ibid.*, pp. 74-75). The rural nature of the South made schools more difficult to establish there than in Northern towns. But

returned to power after Reconstruction the ruling white was niggardly in providing education for poor men. We cannot understand Reconstruction without recognizing the part that ignorance and inexperience played in government.

Furthermore, the tendency to cut Reconstruction off from the Civil War that preceded it and the Bourbon and Populist eras that followed has led to misinterpretation. No one would think of trying to understand the Confederation period without relation to the American Revolution and the Constitutional Convention and the Federalist regime. We need to restudy as a whole the period from 1850 to the turn of the century in order to understand the segment of it that has usually been bounded by the years 1865 and 1877.

Many of us have accepted Beard's pronouncement that the Civil War was a revolution. Du Bois tried to apply it unqualifiedly to the period but failed because he did not comprehend the importance in Southern life of the yeoman farmer, who was neither slaveowning nor "poor white". And his effort to portray the Negro and certain whites of the rural South as a typical proletariat distorted unfortunately the revolutionary thesis. Yet, in spite of Du Bois's misuse of it, this hypothesis of Beard's has validity. The revolutionary hypothesis, however, must not be overdone. The period was complex. Many of the actors in the revolution were unconscious of it; others had mixed motives. Yet beginning even before 1850 and extending over several decades there occurred a revolution in American life. The revolution was twofold. An agrarian group heretofore dominant in the nation was overthrown by an industrial and urban interest. Simultaneously in the South a ruling order was overturned. The ante-bellum South was not nearly so pure an aristocracy, socially or politically, as contemporary defense theorists or later romanticists would have one believe. Many regions were controlled by middle-class folk or recently self-made men; in many places Jacksonian democracy still retained strength. The struggle of yeoman farmer and laborer against planter and merchant that culminated in Populism had already begun.²² Nor was the post-bellum

a comparison of Southern schools with schools in the old Northwest and even in the trans-Mississippi West, also rural regions, will indicate the importance of other factors in the South. Southerners repeatedly point out that beginnings had been made, but in most places those beginnings were largely hopes for the future. School statutes were often permissive rather than mandatory. Even where large amounts of money were spent, the influence of planters sometimes got the money for planter schools and left other people's children unschooled. Historians of education have too long boasted of statutory enactments and have failed to look at schools—or lack of them.

²² See, *e.g.*, Shugg's study.

period thoroughly democratic, even under the Radicals.²³ Yet, with proper reservations and qualifications, it is still true for many parts of the South that control by large property holders of political, economic, and social life, based on slave labor, was displaced by a more democratic way of life, based on free labor, and that this change not only emancipated Negro slaves but gave poor white men a chance to seek more political power.²⁴ It is in terms of this twofold revolutionary hypothesis that the period needs to be re-examined.

Historians to whom politics has seemed an all-engrossing end in itself have failed to comprehend that thousands of white Southerners during Reconstruction wanted nothing from politicians but a chance to live their lives undisturbed. They were quietly going about the stupendous task of rebuilding the South's shattered economic and social life and their own fortunes. One reason for the defeat of Lee's armies in 1865 was the war-weariness of the people back home. Men were tired of war, of strife. They wanted peace. They were willing to forget their cause, cease arguing with the North, take oaths of allegiance, even swallow their former prides, if only they could have peace. If we understand this, it ceases to be puzzling that thousands of Southerners remained politically indifferent through the various turns of political fortune, that many accommodated themselves to Radical rule, and that some supported it. Some preferred military rule to further strife. To many it was the Radical personnel that was objectionable. There were many white Southerners who felt equal dislike for the Ku Klux Klan and the Loyal League and for the same reason. Many Southerners finally supported those who "restored white supremacy", not so much because they cared who held office as because they were

²³ Shugg points out that in Louisiana the tendency toward centralization put "imperial power" into the governor's hands under the Constitution of 1868. Even here the authorities Shugg cites make one wonder if he has in this merely too easily accepted the judgment of critics opposed to Radical purposes.

²⁴ Shugg points out that in Louisiana "the postwar years" were "the seedtime of the labor movement" (*ibid.*, pp. 300-301). Labor became important in politics (*ibid.*, pp. 198-99). Even under the Conservative rule of 1864 there were "no representatives of the old slaveholding regime" in the convention, which was "in the hands of a new order of men with little or no experience in public life". "Debates reveal their liberal intentions but not the education of gentility. They came from a social class which had never before been important in Louisiana politics. The fact that they occupied seats of power was of even greater revolutionary significance than the new organic law which they compiled" (*ibid.*, p. 203). "The fundamental issue" in the election of 1864, says Shugg, "was whether Louisiana should be restored to the control of planters and merchants under the old constitution, or put in the hands of a majority of loyal white people under a new organic law" (*ibid.*, p. 198).

tired of constant turmoil that was injurious to nonpolitical pursuits.

Many Southerners opposed to its democratic phase were sympathetic with the industrial phase of the revolution. These men were ready to support Johnson governments if they were friendly to business interests. They would support Radical governments on the same terms. And they could as easily support Bourbons in their turn. Reconstruction can be understood only if the Southern movement for development of industry is treated as a whole from ante-bellum days to the twentieth century. The desire for industrialization and railroad building, manifested in the commercial conventions and in the large grants of state aid during the fifties, was not killed by the war. Many saw a lesson for the South in the contrast between Northern wartime prosperity and Southern economic weakness. Not only in the North but in the South modern industry grew up behind the noise of political controversy. Textiles, coal, iron and steel, tobacco factories, railroads, and mill villages were as important as loyal leagues, klans, and black codes, but they have been generally ignored by historians. There were charges, even before the war, that the national Democracy was selling out to business. It is significant that during war Governor Joseph E. Brown, in the name of state rights, opposed Jefferson Davis's ideal of a Southern nationality and that Brown was on good terms with the ruling group during the Civil War, under Johnson Conservatism, under Radical rule, and under the Bourbons. His Radical record did not prevent his returning to power under white supremacy. The key to his career was his interest in using political power to favor business development in general and his own vested interests in particular. It mattered little whether it was carpetbaggers and Negroes or Bourbon politicians who granted the favors to business, just so the favors were granted. Similarly in Alabama the same group of men were powerful enough to get state aid for their business ventures from ante-bellum planter governments, the Conservative Johnson governments, the Radical Republicans, and the Bourbons who restored white supremacy. Holden in North Carolina, too, needs restudying by someone not prejudiced by his support of the Radical cause.

Historians have been so busy denouncing Radicals that they have not bothered to discover who profited from Radical extravagance—and from later Bourbon rule. Certainly few Negroes profited personally. Some white Radicals did; many did not. The whole debt story needs revising. Restudy will reduce the size of the debt in several states. Mississippi Radicals, for instance, were for years credited with leaving

a \$20,000,000 debt. So respectable a person as Congressman St. George Tucker first gave currency to this. Jabeth L. M. Curry, E. Benjamin Andrews, and others accepted it as "fact". Actually Radicals contracted in Mississippi only a nominal current sum of about \$500,000, for the reason that the Radicals, over the protest of their Conservative opponents, put a clause into the Constitution of 1868 forbidding the pledging of state funds to aid corporations.²⁵ In Alabama the Conservatives claimed, and Fleming accepted their claim, that they reduced a debt of \$30,000,000 to less than \$10,000,000. In reality part of the \$30,000,000 debt existed only in their campaign charges against Radicals. The portion they reduced was mostly potential debt that the state might have had to assume on behalf of railroads but in return for which the state would, by foreclosure, have come into the possession of valuable railroad properties. The so-called reduction of the debt was brought about not by payment or repudiation but by "adjustment" highly advantageous to the railroads, to which Bourbon leaders were allied.²⁶

Only a part of the debt of any state was contracted for the chemises and spittoons that have so intrigued historians. Past failure to collect taxes and arrears in payments on financial obligations placed heavy burdens upon the governments. Extraordinary expenditures were necessary for the rehabilitation of a war-ruined South. Bourbons economized by cutting off public services, such as education, important to the masses.

The larger portion of the debts financed grants or guarantees to railroads. Often those who restored white supremacy had favored contracting such debts under Radical rule and under Bourbon rule continued to extend public aid to private ventures. In North Carolina some of the "best citizens" profited by the floating of the Radical bonds that they and their party later repudiated and their descendants denounced.²⁷

²⁵ James W. Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi* (New York, 1901), pp. 320-23, and conversations with Wharton, who has used manuscript letters dealing with the subject.

²⁶ Bond, "Social and Economic Forces in Alabama Reconstruction", *Jour. Negro Hist.*, XXIII (July, 1938), 336-46, and *Negro Education in Alabama*, pp. 54-61. Apparently in Louisiana a large amount of money went for graft, but even there a considerable amount sponsored business ventures. Shugg, pp. 202, 225, 226-27, 229.

²⁷ A. Ray Newsome, "Report of an Investigation of the Passage of the Reconstruction Bond Ordinances and Acts of North Carolina of 1868 and 1869" (1928), MS. report in the possession of the author; conversations with Newsome, 1938-39; Benjamin U. Ratchford, "A History of the North Carolina Debt, 1712-1900", MS. Ph.D. dissertation in 1932 at Duke University; Cecil Kenneth Brown, *A State Movement in Railroad Development* (Chapel Hill, 1928).

In Alabama the same railroad men were important politically from the 1850's to the days of white supremacy, whatever the political complexion of those who held the offices. It is interesting that in Alabama the Southern names of Robert Patton, James W. Sloss, Luke Pryor, George Houston, Albert Fink, Sam Tate, V. K. Stevenson, John T. Milner, and Josiah Morris keep recurring in that important story of the interrelationship of business and politics. Morris, a Montgomery banker, wielded power behind the scenes. Pryor as a member of the legislature was working for railroad grants in 1853-54 and was still important in the 1880's. Sloss, an ante-bellum storekeeper who turned railroad and coal and steel operator, for several decades had power with legislators, whether Conservatives, Radicals, or Bourbons. Patton, a colleague of Sloss, as provisional governor under Johnson's plan advocated and validated the bonds that provided \$12,000 a mile for the railroads sponsored by the Sloss group. Then under the Radicals he was vice-president of one of the Sloss railroads that benefited when the Radicals increased the grant from \$12,000 to \$16,000 a mile in what Fleming savagely condemns as "carpetbag financiering". One of the lobbyists was an agent of Russell Sage, but another was a leader in the development of Alabama coal and iron and an agent of Morris, the Montgomery banker.²⁸ In Alabama, the Conservatives leased the penitentiary and convicts out to businessmen for profit as in slave days. The Radicals discontinued the practice in 1872.²⁹ In Mississippi Johnson Conservatives began the convict-lease system. General Gillem, under military rule, gave a contract to one favored capitalist that carried almost absolute control over the convicts, most of whom were Negroes. The Radical governor tried to destroy the system. The Bourbon restorationists carried it to extremes until two investigations finally forced its abandonment in the Constitution of 1890.³⁰

In Georgia "white supremacy" meant the supremacy of the business interests of Brown, Gordon, and Colquitt over the interests of thousands of small farmers who later revolted under the Populist banner. Toombs and Stephens, who really represented the Old South, saw, unlike later historians, the significance of the political situation and,

²⁸ Bond, *Jour. Negro Hist.*, XXIII, 313-48, and *Negro Education in Alabama*, pp. 38-62.

²⁹ [Alabama] *Inspectors of Convicts, First Biennial Report . . . to the Governor, from October 1, 1884, to October 1, 1886* (Montgomery, 1886), pp. 351-53.

³⁰ Wharton, pp. 443-51. Even after 1890, however, the use of convicts seems to have continued "in illegal and irregular fashion" until the coming of Vardaman to power in 1904. Wharton to H. K. Beale, Oct. 23, 1939.

along with Watson, who subsequently led the Populists, opposed these "restorers of white supremacy". Yet with Brown providing the business acumen, Colquitt speaking for religion to claim God's sanction for their activities, and Gordon representing the military hero in politics, the Bourbon Triumvirate were able to use the banner of "white supremacy" and Grady's slogan of a "New South" to further their business interests. And they were ready to retain Negroes in office and use Negro votes to maintain their "white supremacy" against white farmers who organized to protect small-farmer interests.³¹ Indeed there seems to have been a striking similarity between waving the banner of "white supremacy" and waving the "bloody shirt" in the North. Both were waved simultaneously by a dominant party to avoid being turned out of office by a majority of farmers who objected to the use of government for furthering the interests of business groups.

The other phase of the revolution involved substituting democratic for aristocratic institutions within the South. From the point of view of restoring a happily united nation it was unfortunate that we had Radical Reconstruction, unfortunate that any attempt was made to impose, from without, changed ways of life upon the South. It is important, however, also to consider Reconstruction from the point of view of political, social, and economic revolution within Southern life. From this point of view, Southern planters were generously treated and escaped much of the disaster that often overtakes a defeated ruling class. A large part of their suffering resulted directly from civil war and the overthrow of an established political and economic system and would have occurred had there been no Radical reconstruction or Republican rule. In the present revolution in Germany, the Russian Revolution, the French Revolution, and to some degree in our own American Revolution privileged members of the old regime were "liquidated" or driven out, and their property was confiscated. In the South a part of the older planter aristocracy was temporarily deprived of its political privileges, but it was not deprived by political means of its property or its life. It was not driven out of its homeland. Why were the Southern leading families so gently dealt with in revolutionary change?

The answer requires much further study of the period. It lies partly in the Northern Radicals. They have usually been lumped together in praise or condemnation. Actually they represented strikingly different points of view, tied together only by certain common interests and a common desire to retain power for their party. Thad Stevens and

³¹ Woodward, *Tom Watson*, pp. 52-72.

Charles Sumner agreed with the businessmen who backed the party in wanting a high tariff, which the South's return might endanger. But Stevens and Sumner were idealists in their concern for the Negro and human rights. Stevens at least was genuinely a radical. He wanted to confiscate planter property and divide it among Negroes. The Republican party never seriously considered this, because, while it would have served certain party purposes, the majority of Republican leaders and party members had not the least interest in social revolution, even in a distant section. They were men of property who would not endanger the sanctity of property rights for Negroes or poor Southern white men any more than they would divide ownership of their own factories or farms with Northern workingmen. There were sighs of *Northern* relief when death removed Stevens's troublesome radicalism. The Negro wanted forty acres and a mule, but his Republican backers had no serious thought of turning political into social and economic revolution.

We need studies of the Negro under Reconstruction in the spirit of Bell Irvin Wiley's study of the Negro in the Confederacy and Vernon Wharton's "Negro in Mississippi" before we can answer many questions that arise.³² Our picture of him is unfortunately colored by the racial prejudices of contemporaries who deemed even fundamental Negro civil rights and political activity unspeakable. Even Simkins and Woody in their excellent book never quite got away from instinctive assumption that their race must bar Negroes from social and economic equality. It is time to forget feelings about the Negro and study Reconstruction to see what the Negro really was and why he did not gain more from Reconstruction. Fairminded investigation will probably disclose that few Republicans or responsible Negroes, even at the height of Negro and carpetbag rule, carried their insistence upon political, civil, and educational equality over into attempts at social mingling.³³ James Lynch, for instance, while secretary of state, and

³² Wiley, *Southern Negroes, 1861-1865* (New Haven, 1938). Alrutheus A. Taylor's books on the Negro in Virginia and South Carolina during Reconstruction were significant as pioneer work by a Negro but, like the older histories by white historians, leave much to be desired.

³³ Shugg thinks that in Louisiana the Radical stand for Negro equality and the Southern white's belief that civil rights for Negroes would mean miscegenation were disastrous to the Negro and Radical causes. Yet the Negro leaders claimed that "social equality meant nothing more to the intelligent Negro than the right of any man, whatever his color, to come and go in public places, and to pursue his own happiness, provided he did not infringe the equal right of another. . . . There was no thought of racial intermarriage, even among the uneducated, but only of the admission of freedmen

John R. Lynch while congressman, submitted to Mississippi's "Jim Crow" cars and restaurants without protest.³⁴ One Marxian writer charged me with accepting "uncritically . . . the traditional role of the Negro";³⁵ because I said "plantation hands were not only illiterate but 'had no conception of . . . the meaning of terms like government, morality, suffrage, or even free labor.'" ³⁶ Yet this seems true nonetheless. On the other hand, many more Negroes were educated and able than one would have thought possible so soon after slavery and more than historians have led us to believe. Wharton made a number of interesting discoveries about the relation of the two races in Mississippi.³⁷ For instance, carpetbaggers frequently disliked the Negro. They avoided social contacts with him. They "made little effort to conceal their distaste for him". Federal troops often sided with Democrats against Negroes. Radical Republicans were not eager to do more for Negroes than "to grant them the franchise and solicit their votes". The Negroes did not demand many offices. "Even in the minority of counties . . . [that] had Negro and Republican majorities, the freedmen seldom obtained many offices." The twelve Negro sheriffs were "a moderately satisfactory group, most of whom were at least capable of exercising the functions of their office. . . . Little difference can be discovered in the administration of their counties and that of the counties under Democratic control." Efficient local leaders of Negroes rapidly developed all over the state. Of the six Negroes who held high office, four were men of ability, leadership, education, and integrity, who did the state honor; two were obscure local politicians, one intelligent and educated but both dishonest. The Negroes favored, and Revels, a Negro, supported in the United States Senate the removal of white political disabilities. Many Negroes worked well under the new labor system. A good many succeeded as farmers, at least until the crop failure of 1867 ruined them. Ben Montgomery, a former slave, rented and then bought the Davis plantations and took national prizes with his cotton. His son established a prosperous all-Negro town.³⁸

to civil society so that they might be free to walk the streets, frequent public institutions, attend schools, and appear in courts of law like other citizens" (pp. 222-23).

³⁴ Wharton, pp. 427-30.

³⁵ Richard Enmale in the "editor's foreword" of Allen's work, page 10.

³⁶ Howard K. Beale, *The Critical Year* (New York, 1930), pp. 186-89.

³⁷ Some of these things are already known to recent students like Lewinson, but they have not yet found their way into the picture usually drawn of Reconstruction even by historians.

³⁸ Wharton, pp. 66-70, 106-107, 250-52, 275-78, 285-331.

Suppose slaveowners' estates had been divided? We read much to-day from Southern whites in support of the view that the poorer Southern white man cannot improve his lot until the Negro's lot is improved along with it. Andrew Johnson, Wade Hampton, and Alexander H. Stephens wanted to give educated and property-holding Negroes the suffrage. Suppose that, on some such plan as the Dawes and Burke acts for Indians, the Negro had been given land and then had been treated as a ward? Suppose he had gradually been given control of land distributed to him as he became economically experienced? Suppose he had been granted real rather than merely nominal citizenship as he individually became competent? What would have been the effect upon the Negro? Upon the South? Upon the problem of farm tenantry? From the point of view of the Radical aim, of even political equality, was the Negro not right in his desire for forty acres and a mule, and were not his white friends unrealistic in thinking they could secure political privileges for him without a basis for them in economic rights? Were upper-class Southern whites trying to work out a system of labor desirable for the South and satisfactory to Negroes as well as to whites? Or were they, in formulating their Negro policies and in demanding white supremacy, merely determined, like Northern capitalists in their labor policies, to keep for their own benefit a plentiful supply of dependent, ignorant, docile workers?

And what of the poorer white man? Were his interests really opposed to those of the Negro, or is this just another shibboleth encouraged by men whose interests were opposed to both Negroes and small white farmers? Bourbon leaders *were* motivated in part by the social factor that the racial prejudice of whites toward Negroes created; they did share with many poorer white men dislike of Negro rule. Yet Bourbon supremacy also embodied the conservative swinging back of the pendulum that frequently has followed the excesses of revolution. Planters shared the new aristocracy with men of business and were often dominated by them. In overthrowing the Radicals, the Bourbons fastened upon the South a government that served badly the interests of poorer white men who had for a time appeared to have a chance of obtaining greater political power. It took the Populists years to win back some of the democratic privileges lost in Bourbon restoration. In many cases the Bourbons maintained control over a majority of white men by raising fear of the Negro and at the same time using Negro votes in black counties to overbalance white majorities elsewhere. For a time they continued to allow Negroes to hold office.

Many of the same devices for control of elections that they had perfected in regaining white supremacy in the face of Negro majorities they continued to use to retain power against Populist white majorities. The ire of poorer whites thus aroused probably was important in the disfranchisement of Negroes and the strengthening of "Jim Crow" laws, both of which, be it remembered, in most states occurred in the late eighties and nineties, not with the restoration of white supremacy in the seventies. We need to study the origins of this Populist-Bourbon controversy in Reconstruction to see what its bearing on politics and economic conflicts was.

A Granger movement, usually ignored, developed some strength in the South. Why was it not stronger? What common economic interests did Negro and white farmer have? Why did they fail to unite successfully in the face of common economic enemies?³⁹ In some states Negroes were an overwhelming majority of the Radical electorate. But in Tennessee, at least, and probably from the eighties on in North Carolina, whites constituted a majority of the Republicans. In North Carolina whites could have controlled all the assemblies of the period had some whites not joined blacks against other whites. Even in Mississippi whites outnumbered Negroes in popular assemblies. For instance, the Constitutional Convention of 1868 contained only 16 Negroes in a membership of 100. The Southern whites—about 60—could have controlled the convention had 33 of them not sided with the minority of Negroes and carpetbaggers.⁴⁰ Why did this co-operation of blacks and whites for common ends break down? In Arkansas, Georgia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia registered whites outnumbered registered Negroes even in 1868. If the old thesis holds that native whites were almost solid against Radical rule, why did not these white majorities prevent Radical rule? If they were not solid against Radical rule, why were they not? The number of whites disqualified from voting has probably been exaggerated, though that number in-

³⁹ Shugg's analysis (p. 301) indicates that it was the racial issue that broke the movement of small farmers and laborers against planters and merchants and drove the former into the camp of the latter. He shows, for instance, that in 1865 Negroes and whites joined in a common labor movement. In a strike in that year the opponents of labor took pains to divide white and Negro labor. When the Radicals were finally turned out it was because, under fear of Negro dominance, white farmers and white laborers had joined with people of their own race who were their class enemies against people of their own class interests who were of another race.

⁴⁰ Wharton, pp. 265-66. These figures are estimates made by Wharton after thorough investigation. It is difficult to get information about all members of such a body.

cluded many of the South's old leaders. How many were disqualified?⁴¹ A good many eligible citizens did not vote. Was it because of carelessness about registering, indifference, boycott, or unwillingness to sue for pardon or take oaths of loyalty?

We need to restudy Reconstruction in each state, freed from preconceptions of the right and wrong of Reconstruction and determined to discover just what lasting influences Reconstruction exerted. Carpet-baggers, Negroes, Southern Radicals, Conservatives, moderates, Bourbons, businessmen, various classes of farmers, laborers, all need careful analysis as to motives, purposes, economic interests, their relation to Reconstruction, and the effects of Radical rule and its overthrow upon their interests. We need to reanalyze the Radicals, the Independents of the seventies and eighties, and the Populists to see to what extent these three groups that tried political co-operation of Negroes and whites were parts of a common movement. The origin of modern industrialism, of the modern farm problem, of the power of business over Southern state governments, of Southern labor problems, all need investigating. The South's relation to crop failures such as the one in 1867, to business depressions, to the Westward movement, immigration restriction, the national labor movement, the antimonopoly crusade, Grangerism, and other national phenomena requires study. An analysis of the romanticism in art and literature that appeared in the South during Reconstruction and just afterward would probably explain much about Southern attitudes toward this period, both then and now. We know full well the shortcomings of Radical governments. We need to know more of their accomplishments.⁴² For instance, the constitutions drawn up by the Radicals long outlived the Radicals. They contained many interesting features. They tended to centralize administrative power. They remodeled the judiciary and the taxing system. Not only did the Radicals carry on the government through troubled times, they did a good deal toward restoring public buildings, roads, bridges, schools, and courts that war had destroyed. They established new social services and would have established them better had they not been inexperienced in administration. The opening of schools, courts, and other public agencies to Negroes put a new burden upon

⁴¹ See William A. Russ, jr., "Congressional Disfranchisement, 1866-1898" (MS. Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Chicago), pp. 107-14, and "Registration and Disfranchisement under Radical Reconstruction", *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXI (Sept., 1934), 163-80.

⁴² Shugg thinks that in Louisiana Radical reforms were "conspicuous for their absence" (p. 225). In some states they were important.

government, as did the increased relief problem and the oversight of new racial relationships. This all took money. That meant increased taxes, particularly upon land. Further investigation is necessary, but there is evidence that the increased taxes required for social services were an important cause of the tax-paying elements' resentment of Radical rule. Even the new taxes were still not high. But Southern property owners were not educated to paying for services for poor men. The tax policies and public services of the Radicals and Bourbons need comparing. Bourbons sometimes merely shifted administrative burdens from state to county, creating an appearance of economy that was not real.⁴³ Where Bourbons *did* reduce expenses, was it not often at high cost in human values?

Radical administration needs reappraising. There were bad spots, but there were also good. We have heard too little about the good under Radicals and too little of the bad under Conservative administrations that preceded and followed them. South Carolina suffered from dishonest officials. Some states, however, were as well administered by Radicals as at any other time during this era. Honesty and dishonesty were not monopolies of any one group. In Mississippi, for instance, Garner points out that "there were no great embezzlements or other cases of misappropriation during . . . Republican rule". In the whole post-bellum period he found only three cases: a Republican treasurer of the Natchez hospital who took \$7251, a colored librarian who stole books, and a Democratic native white treasurer who embezzled more grandly to the amount of \$61,962.⁴⁴ A restorationist Democrat, however, elected in 1875, made away with \$315,612.⁴⁵ In North Carolina Conservatives starved the schools until Ashley, the superintendent, resigned. Then the Republican governor, Caldwell, appointed Alexander McIver, "a sincere and honest man . . . keenly anxious to build up the schools". To succeed McIver, Governor Caldwell, in the face of pressure for a political appointment, chose Kemp P. Battle, a much respected educator. In 1874 the Conservatives, on the other hand, elected to the

⁴³ For instance, in Mississippi state taxes in 1875 under the Republicans were 9¼ mills and county taxes 10¾ mills. In 1877 under the Democratic restorationists the state taxes were reduced to 5 mills, but the county taxes were raised to 16. This meant that actually the Democrats increased the total state *and* county tax burden from 20 to 21 mills and yet, according to Wharton, gave no better government. Wharton to H. K. Beale, Oct. 23, 1939.

⁴⁴ Pp. 322-23.

⁴⁵ Wharton, pp. 329-30. Without specially seeking them, Wharton has run across several other cases of "Bourbon embezzlement". Wharton to H. K. Beale, Oct. 23, 1939.

superintendency Stephen D. Pool, who stole Peabody Fund money. The Conservative governor, Brogden, then chose another political appointee, a cousin of the defaulter.⁴⁶

Was the Southern dislike of Radical rule caused by bad government or rather by dislike of Northern and Negro participation in it whether good or bad? Many Southerners would not have liked even ideal conditions of life so long as they owed them to Northern imposition or to Northern generosity. To what extent was dislike of Northerners who had beaten them in war a cause of Southern opposition to Radical rule? How important were the factors usually portrayed in criticism of Radical rule, and how important was unadulterated racial prejudice that would have resented Utopian conditions if Negroes had played an important part in them?⁴⁷ These emotional factors need measurement and analysis.

There are no adequate unbiased studies of education under Reconstruction.⁴⁸ Many blunders were made. The upheaval of civil war had already injured such ante-bellum systems as there were. At best the task was difficult. It took experience to teach friends of the Negro that for the average Negro vocational training was more valuable than cultural. One often gets the impression that Radicals imposed mixed Negro and white schools everywhere. How often outside of one or two states was this actually done? Educational accomplishment fell far short of the theory of the laws. Yet the Republicans in their constitutions did give many white men their first assurance of a free school system. How much benefit to the Negro was the Republican writing of Negro education into the fundamental law? We need to restudy education to see how often the new theories became realities. To what extent did Radicals improve school administration? How many schools

⁴⁶ J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina* (New York, 1914), pp. 611-19.

⁴⁷ Shugg believes that in Louisiana "at first neither race was solidly united against the other, nor were the spoils of office their only concern". He writes: "Carpetbaggers fought planters and merchants for the possession of rich natural resources and the control of black and white labor. The carpetbaggers were defeated because they turned from economic to political exploitation, preyed upon whites more than blacks, and arrayed all classes of the former race against the latter. The final triumph of planters and merchants, with the essential support of white farmers and laborers, was a counterrevolution which crushed the bewildered and abortive attempts, first of white, and then of black, labor, to rule the state and mold society in their own images" (p. 197).

⁴⁸ The author cannot except Edgar Wallace Knight's *Influence of Reconstruction on Education in the South* (New York, 1913). What we need, both before and after the Civil War, under Radicals and Bourbons, is a study of actual educational conditions, not a listing of arguments based on statutes enacted.

did they build? How many teachers did they hire? How many men did they begin educating who had not had schools before? It is upon the answers to such questions that they must be judged. Bourbons cut school expenses. How much injury to the schools was wrought by Bourbon "economy"? We have evidence that in at least one state it was twenty years before schools began to recover from Bourbon neglect.⁴⁹ In how many other states was this true? It is interesting that in North Carolina, where their school record was not good, the oft denounced Radicals tried to restore the ante-bellum school system and extend it to Negroes; schools suffered grievously under the Bourbons; another Republican governor, Russell, twenty years later, championed the schools.⁵⁰ Did the Radicals or their Bourbon successors do greater injury to the schools? Was it the Radicals or the Civil War that destroyed ante-bellum accomplishment? To what degree did Radical legislation lay the foundations of future educational advancement?

Finally, some of the Republicans tried to establish a more democratic political system. Again they blundered. It took more than the ballot to make intelligent citizens out of ignorant Negroes and whites. Negro voters were ignorant, childlike, and inexperienced. In slavery they had been kept so by the Southern slaveowners who now criticized them for these very qualities when Negroes did their not very able best to play the role of citizens. But many whites also were ignorant and inexperienced in democracy. Some of the most condemned aspects of Radical Reconstruction were merely the manifestations of a democratic revolution in a region habituated to aristocratic control. There are striking similarities between scenes enacted in Southern capitals and that in Washington at Jackson's inaugural. In both cases "the people came into their own". The experience with sudden democratization was not a happy one. It could not have been happy even had the Negroes been excluded from it. It should be remembered that the Southerners who overthrew the Radicals showed themselves as unwilling to share

⁴⁹ For instance, Stuart Grayson Noble, who, according to Wharton, has made the only intelligent study of Mississippi schools, concludes: "The school laws, passed by the legislature of 1876, had in view the curtailment of expenses. They certainly did not have in view the wrecking of the public school system and the abandonment of Negro education. Yet, as a result of these laws, the efficiency of the system was greatly reduced" (*Forty Years of the Public Schools in Mississippi*, New York, 1918, p. 48). Noble points out that the schools for whites resumed progress again only after 1890 and that the progress did not become important until after 1900.

⁵⁰ It was Aycock, of course, successor to Russell, who firmly established North Carolina's school system. But it should be remembered that Russell fought for schools as one of the chief aims of his administration when schools were not a popular cause.

power with poor white men in Populist days as with poor Negroes and white men in Radical days. Was not a part of the offense of the Radical leaders that they sought to serve the interests of *poor men*?⁵¹ One of the most persistent evidences of unfitness for office raised against the Radicals by historians, even by Simkins and Woody, is the fact that Radicals were men who did not pay taxes and did not own property; in short, that they were poor. The Populists tried for years to establish democratic institutions and succeeded only slightly better than the Radicals. No, the Radical attempt to establish democracy was not a success. But the Conservative white solution has been little better, save for property owners. It has kept the Negro in his place by creating a caste system. It has kept millions of whites dependent and docile politically by keeping them dependent economically as mill workers and tenant farmers. But it has not, through schools and economic competence, yet made the poorer white men adequate citizens of the democracy we all like to feel we believe in. Here in the Bourbon-Radical conflict is the dilemma of democracy or, indeed, of any form of government. One alternative seems to be rule by non-tax-paying, non-property-holding men who seek to serve the interest of a majority but through inexperience or ignorance serve it badly. The other alternative seems to be rule by men of property who have the experience and knowledge necessary to serve the majority efficiently, but whose interests make them choose to serve their own minority group instead. Through thoughtful study of the conflict of ideals under the Radicals and Bourbons we might attain the wisdom to discover a third democratic technique that would avoid both of the usual alternatives.

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⁵¹ So little did Bourbon policies serve poor men's interests that a few years of their rule led to a great revolt of Populists and Alliancemen against them in behalf of small farmers and poor men.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

SEWARD AND THE POLISH REBELLION OF 1863

THE pre-eminent position of Secretary Seward in American diplomacy and the firm, if somewhat strange, friendship between the United States and Russia during the American Civil War have long been recognized.¹ But Seward's attitude toward the Polish rebellion of 1863, although it contributed both to his reputation and to Russo-American friendship, has not received careful attention.

During the closing months of 1862 the question of European intervention in the American Civil War was still a lively one; Napoleon III was particularly anxious to bring about European mediation in that conflict and sought to win Great Britain and Russia to his point of view. Russia steadfastly refused to be drawn into these schemes and gave repeated assurance to the Union government that she would not become a party to any mediation proposal "until it is certain of being accepted by both sides—by the federal government and the Southern states".²

Seward was naturally grateful for the attitude of the Russian government. On December 7, 1862, he wrote to Taylor, American chargé d'affaires at St. Petersburg, expressing satisfaction with the "prudent, just and friendly course pursued by the government of the Czar", and on December 23 he informed Taylor that Russia "has our friendship, in every case, in preference to any other European power, simply be-

¹ Outstanding among several biographies of Seward is Frederic Bancroft, *The Life of William H. Seward* (2 vols., New York, 1900); of decidedly less importance are Edward Everett Hale, jr., *William H. Seward* (Philadelphia, 1910) and Thornton Kirkland Lothrop, *William Henry Seward* (Boston, 1910). Dexter Perkins contributes an excellent analysis of Seward's career in the *Dictionary of American Biography* (20 vols. and Index, New York, 1928-36); H. W. Temple's account in Volume VII of the *American Secretaries of State and their Diplomacy* (10 vols., New York, 1927-29, Samuel Flagg Bemis, ed.) is a good general discussion of Seward's work as head of the Department of State. The following articles are of special importance in shedding light on the question of Russo-American relations at the time of the Civil War: Frank A. Golder, "The Russian Fleet and the Civil War", in the *American Historical Review*, XX (1915), 801-12, and "The American Civil War through the Eyes of a Russian Diplomat", *ibid.*, XXVI (1921), 454-63; and E. A. Adamov, "Russia and the United States at the Time of the Civil War", in the *Journal of Modern History*, II (1930), 586-602.

² Bayard Taylor to Seward, Jan. 21, 1863, *Messages and Documents*, 38 Congress, 1 session (Washington, 1864), pt. II, p. 855. For numerous earlier expressions of a similar nature see Taylor to Seward, Oct. 29, Nov. 11, 12, 15, 1862, *ibid.*, pp. 839-40, 842, 843-44, 845.

cause she always wishes us well, and leaves us to conduct our affairs as we think best".³

Russia and the United States were thus developing a friendly understanding as a result of the intervention issue when the Polish insurrection broke out in mid-January, 1863. With a problem so close to home, the attention of European statesmen was diverted from the American conflict; by the end of January even Napoleon had abandoned all his plans for further interference in America, but he had by no means lost his appetite for meddling. The French emperor at once began formulating schemes for intervention on behalf of the Poles, and William Lewis Dayton, the American minister to France, was quickly sounded out to learn whether the United States would be willing to co-operate. On April 9, 1863, Napoleon's foreign minister, Edouard Drouyn de l'Huys, informed the American representative of the condition of the Polish question, declaring that France, England, and Austria were about to express their views to Russia and had substantially agreed upon the nature of their representations; he assured Dayton that everything would be in the mildest form, with no attempt at pressure. The close similarity between this proposal and Napoleon's propositions with regard to the United States was not lost upon Dayton, who replied that this was a question of European policy, and that although we might have a general interest in it, it was wholly subordinate to our interest in the affairs of our own country and continent.⁴

In spite of this discouragement with regard to American participation the French government made another attempt to secure it. On April 23, 1863, Drouyn de l'Huys informed Mercier, French minister to the United States, that France, England, and Austria were conferring for the purpose of agreeing upon a declaration to be simultaneously submitted to Russia and that he was hopeful that the views of France would be accepted by the other governments. Mercier was instructed to convey this information to Seward, and the message concluded with an invitation to the United States to join the European powers in their declaration to Russia: "The good relations which exist between the government of the United States and the court of Russia cannot but give greater weight to the counsels presented in a friendly form; and we rely entirely on the cabinet of Washington to appreciate

³ Seward to Taylor, Dec. 7, 23, 1862, *ibid.*, pp. 847, 851 (the second letter is misdated 1863).

⁴ Dayton to Seward, Apr. 9, 1863, *ibid.*, pp. 725-26.

the measure in which it will be able most satisfactorily to open its views to the Russian government.”⁵

In common with many Americans Seward entertained a considerable friendship for the Poles, to whom he referred as “the gallant nation whose wrongs, whose misfortunes, and whose valor have so deeply excited universal sympathy in Europe”. But he trusted in the liberalism, sagacity, and magnanimity of Alexander to right the Polish grievances and therefore believed that foreign intervention in behalf of the revolutionaries was unnecessary.⁶

Seward’s reply to the French invitation to the United States to join in the proposed intervention, written on May 11, 1863, was very skillful. After expressing appreciation of Napoleon’s considerations and motives, Seward declared his belief that the czar’s enlightened and humane character would lead him to receive the proposal “with all the favor that is consistent with the general welfare of the great state over which he presides with such eminent wisdom and moderation”. He then pointed out that, despite the favor with which we regarded Napoleon’s suggestion, there was an insurmountable difficulty in the way of our active co-operation with France, Austria, and Great Britain. Declaring that the builders of the American republic had at once been recognized as political reformers, that revolutionaries in every country had hailed them as such and consequently looked to the United States for effective sympathy if not for active support and patronage, Seward pointed out that soon after the adoption of the Constitution we had to consider “to what extent we could with propriety, safety and beneficence, intervene, either by alliance or concerted action with friendly powers or otherwise, in the political affairs of foreign states”. An urgent appeal for such aid and sympathy had early been made on behalf of France, and so deeply did this touch the heart of the American people, that only the “deference they cherished to the counsels of the Father of our Country, who was then in the fullness of his unapproachable moral greatness, reconciled them to the stern decision that, in view of the location of this republic, the characters, habits and sentiments of the constituent parts, and especially its complex yet unique and very popular constitution, the American people must be content to recommend the cause of human progress by the wisdom with which they should exercise the powers of self-government, forbearing at all times, and in every way,

⁵ Drouyn de l’Huys to Henri Mercier, Apr. 23, 1863, *ibid.*, pp. 829-30.

⁶ Seward to Dayton, Apr. 8, 24, 1863, *ibid.*, pp. 724, 733.

from foreign alliances, intervention, and interference". Although Washington had recognized that the time might come when, American institutions being firmly established and working with complete success, "we might safely and perhaps beneficially take part in the consultations held by foreign states for the common advantage of the nations", Seward recalled that we had on frequent occasions declined such offers and declared that the decisions of the government each time had been approved by the deliberate judgment of the American people. "Our policy of non-intervention, straight, absolute and peculiar as it may seem to other nations, has thus become a traditional one, which could not be abandoned without the most urgent occasion, amounting to a manifest necessity. Certainly it could not be wisely departed from at this moment, when the existence of a local, although as we trust only a transient disturbance, deprives the government of the counsel of a portion of the American people, to whom so wide a departure from the settled policy of the country must in any case be deeply interesting."⁷ Copies of this communication were sent to Charles Francis Adams in London and to Cassius Marcellus Clay, American minister to Russia, and the latter was informed that there could "be no impropriety in your informally making known the contents of the paper to Prince Gortchacow".⁸

Seward's reply in all probability was much what France had expected, and Drouyn de l'Huys declared to Dayton that he "was not at all disappointed in the result of their application to us. . . . He said, indeed, that the application to us had been made rather as a matter of 'homage' and respect than otherwise".⁹

Russia, of course, was highly gratified by the American stand. When Gorchakov asked permission to publish Seward's note, Clay promptly agreed, justifying himself to Seward as follows:

Your position was just, and therefore could not be offensive of right to our powerful rivals, who were acting offensively against Russia. Whatever effect it was calculated to produce on England and France has already been effected. Its publication would aid Russia by our moral support at home and abroad, and that support is needed at once, and its force might be lost by the delay of asking further instructions from you. And lastly, and above all, I felt that it was due from us to be grateful for the past conduct of Russia towards us in our troubles, by a like moral support of herself, in defence of the integrity of her empire.¹⁰

⁷ Seward to Dayton, May 11, 1863, *ibid.*, pp. 738-39.

⁸ Seward to Clay, May 11, 1863, *ibid.*, p. 867.

⁹ Dayton to Seward, May 29, 1863, *ibid.*, p. 741.

¹⁰ Clay to Seward, June 2, 1863, *ibid.*, p. 871.

Seward evidently entertained the same ideas which Clay had expressed, for he gave unqualified approval to the latter's actions.¹¹ The gratitude of the czar was expressed by Gorchakov in a letter dated May 22 (old style), 1863:

His Majesty the Emperor has been sensibly (*vivement*) moved by the sentiments of confidence which the government of the United States of America places in his views and designs in regard to the general well-being of the empire. That confidence our august master believes he has deserved; and it is necessary to him, in order that he may perfect what he has undertaken. It is to his Majesty a source of sincere satisfaction to see that his persevering efforts to guide with order and without disturbance all the parts of his empire in the way of regular progress are justly appreciated by a nation towards which his Majesty and the Russian people entertain the most friendly sentiments. Such manifestations must strengthen the bonds of mutual sympathy which unite the two countries, and constitute a consummation which too much accords with the aspirations of the Emperor for his Majesty not to look upon it with pleasure.

His Majesty has greatly appreciated the firmness with which the government of the United States maintains the principle of non-intervention, the meaning of which in these days is too often perverted; as well as the loyalty with which they refuse to impose upon other states a rule, the violation of which, in respect to themselves, they would not allow.¹²

In the later stages of the diplomacy of the Polish rebellion the United States played no part, and the story of the suppression of the Poles without foreign interference and the failure of Napoleon's proposal for a European congress need not be retold here.

Seward's handling of the intervention problem stands above reproach. He opposed intervention by Europe in America and by the United States in regard to Russia on the same grounds—that in each case the intervening powers would be stepping beyond their rightful fields of interest. In being consistent he was able to strengthen the bonds of what was perhaps an unnatural but nonetheless a sincere and valuable friendship with Russia. At a time when the Union needed friends, the importance of this cannot be overlooked. Indirectly, Seward was able to protest against the French activity in Mexico, a problem which was causing the American government no small concern in 1862-63, for the arguments he advanced with regard to the Civil War and the Polish rebellion would apply at least in part to Napoleon's Mexican venture. At any rate, Seward's refusal to accept the French suggestion certainly indicated the sincerity of his objections to the intervention in Mexico and placed those objections in a much stronger

¹¹ Seward to Clay, June 30, 1863, *ibid.*, p. 874.

¹² Clay to Seward, June 7, 1863, *ibid.*, p. 873.

position. Seward might have done otherwise; he could perhaps have seized upon Napoleon's suggestion for intervention in Russia to bargain for the termination of French activity in Mexico. It seems quite possible that some such bargain might have been driven, for there is no question as to Napoleon's concern for the problem of Poland. But Seward had seen too many evidences of the emperor's duplicity¹³ to hope for a permanent solution of the Mexican problem in that way, and a bargain of that nature must have endangered the traditional American attachment to the cardinal principle of nonintervention at a time when support of that principle was perhaps never more necessary. If it be charged that it was obvious what the American action should be and that Seward really had no choice to make, it may be answered that England's action should have been equally obvious but that her policy proved unwise.¹⁴ In his skillful handling of the problem of the American attitude toward the Polish rebellion of 1863 Seward made an important addition to his long list of diplomatic achievements.

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¹³ Bancroft, II, 309.

¹⁴ A. W. Ward and G. P. Gooch, eds., *The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy* (3 vols., New York, 1922-23), II, 464.

DOCUMENTS

WILLIAM II AND THE SIAM EPISODE

IN February, 1893, Delcassé, then undersecretary of state for the colonies in the Ribot cabinet, informed the French chamber that the government was determined "to put an end to the encroachments of the Siamese in Indo-China", that is to say, to engage upon a forward policy at the expense of Siam.¹ It seemed safe enough for France to go ahead in Asia, paralleling then as later in the 1890's the forward moves of her newly won ally, Russia—safer by far than in or around Egypt. In the latter sphere England would have had the backing of her friends of the Triple Alliance, whereas none of these had as yet conceived of a special interest in Asia. Hence the next French government, headed by Dupuy (April to November, 1893), decided to proceed as energetically as its predecessor. A socioeconomic depression was at this time deepening over France, to be reflected in the election campaign of August-September and in a public irritability which eventually broke out in the Dreyfus case. For the time being, this malaise was expressed chiefly in an extraordinary animosity against England, voiced by the newspapers as well as in ministerial speeches, on account of Egypt, Madagascar, "and to-day perhaps in the first instance on account of Siam", as Rosebery told the German ambassador on May 27, adding that all this did not make it easier for him to follow the advice of some of his colleagues in the cabinet to entertain cordial relations with France.² The French government believed or pretended to believe that the Gladstone government as late as March, 1893, had declared itself disinterested in the French conflict with Siam and feigned surprise at a British *volte face* when Rosebery's undersecretary, Edward Grey, informed parliament on June 20 that, though his government was ignorant about French intentions against Siam, it had sent a man-of-war to Bangkok, which would be followed by another and possibly a

¹ "Le conflit franco-siamais", par un ancien ministre, *Revue politique et parlementaire*, XXXIV (1902), 221-60, a very convenient summary of the French side. Despite its great and particularly its symptomatic importance, the Siam episode has as yet found no monographic treatment. The best and most up-to-date discussion of it is in William L. Langer's *Diplomacy of Imperialism* (New York, 1935), I, 43-45.

² *Die grosse Politik der europäischen Kabinette, 1871-1914* (Berlin, 1922-27), VIII, 204.

third. According to Paris views, Grey's statement was marked by an air of defiance at which the French government had a right to be surprised, and the more so since it would be interpreted at Bangkok as a promise of support against France. Rosebery himself told the French chargé, D'Estournelles de Constant, that the ships had been sent to the Menam river merely for the protection of British nationals and not to sustain the Siamese government. But, as he confided to the German ambassador, it was "nearly unacceptable" for England to have France as an immediate neighbor in Burma.³

Undeterred by British frowns, the French sent some gunboats up the river to Bangkok with an ultimatum which the Siamese rejected after having, according to the French, consulted the British consul. Thereupon a blockade was declared, one of those pacific blockades the legality of which often exercises the minds of international lawyers. At any rate, it was "practically blockading British commerce", as Rosebery informed the queen at Osborne.⁴ It promised to do a great deal of harm to this trade, which accounted for nine tenths of Siam's foreign commerce. The English press and English politicians of both parties flared up, accusing France of misusing her power for the purpose of oppressing a small people. The majority of the London newspapers encouraged Siam not to accept the ultimatum and called upon their government to intervene in her favor.⁵

These public sentiments were directly echoed in letters of Rosebery to the queen, who may have felt a somewhat personal interest in Siam on account of the economic interest which the closely related royal family of Denmark was developing in that country. Rosebery called the behavior of the French in Siam "unspeakably base", "cruel and treacherous", with probably nothing "so cynically vile" on record. Since England, however, could not afford to play "the Knight Errant of the world, careering about to redress grievance and help the weak", she was reduced to her one interest in the case, *i.e.*, the maintenance of Siam as a buffer state. He himself thought that the cabinet and parliament would hardly approve of a policy that might result in war; nor did he like the queen's idea of appealing for aid to the Triple Alliance, telling her that "it became her Majesty's dignity to settle the matter

³ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

⁴ *Letters of Queen Victoria*, ser. 3, ed. by George Earle Buckle (London, 1930-32), II, 284.

⁵ This summary of English opinion follows the one in "Le conflit franco-siamais", *Rev. Pol. et Parl.*, XXXIV, 221-60.

without appeal" to that address.⁶ Many of the inner and outer elements of an Asiatic Fashoda were at hand about this time. "We were spoiling for a fight. We were ready to fight France about Siam, Germany about the Kruger telegram, and Russia about anything", Grey was to write later about this period.⁷

But not everybody in England or within the Liberal party was spoiling for a fight. Gladstone, for one, was not. He took a personal interest in negotiations with France in July. On July 24, he disapproved of a proposed statement on these negotiations by Rosebery as premature, pending some further *pourparlers* between the Quai d'Orsay and the British ambassador.⁸ Only late in the month was the foreign minister to all appearances left "unfettered" by the premier.⁹

The diplomats of the Triple Alliance were made aware by Rosebery himself of his difficulties with the Francophiles among his cabinet colleagues, some of whom seemed willing for England to show herself as compliant as possible toward France in the interest of a political understanding between the two countries. Rosebery also kept them informed about the Siamese question, as their interest in it "would pretty certainly increase in the case of an Anglo-French war, since such an eventuality would offer an occasion to bring about the Quadruple Alliance". He refrained, however, from expressing in any way a desire for diplomatic intervention on the part of the friendly Continental powers.¹⁰ On the whole, Germany's standpoint, which was impressed upon her Italian partner, who was much readier to join England in a fight, might be summarized in this way: the Germans wanted to see England entangled in a war which would lead to a Quadruple Alliance before they extended help. The English, on the other hand, wanted help in order to avoid both a war and a Quadruple Alliance.¹¹

Siam was not in the least assisted by these dissensions, discussions, or the kind English words for a small nation. Wiser than Denmark in 1864 or Czechoslovakia in 1938, well-advised by M. Rolin-Jaquemin, the Belgian minister of later years, she decided to accept substantially the French demands, including the one for the left bank of the upper Mekong (July 29).

⁶ *Letters*, II, 285.

⁷ To Theodore Roosevelt, Dec., 1906, in George Macaulay Trevelyan, *Grey of Fallodon* (Boston, 1937), p. 132.

⁸ *Private Diaries of the Rt. Hon. Sir Algernon West*, ed. by Horace G. Hutchinson (London, 1922), p. 176.

⁹ Paul Knaplund, *Gladstone's Foreign Policy* (New York, 1935), p. 251.

¹⁰ *Grosse Politik*, VIII, 104-107, 204.

¹¹ Ludwig Israël, *England und der orientalische Dreibund* (Stuttgart, 1937), p. 54.

This, however, was not the last shock for the British statesmen to come out of Siam. On Sunday, July 30, Rosebery, now left "unfettered" by Gladstone, received a telegram from Bangkok saying that the commander of the French blockading squadron had ordered the British gunboats to leave and to stay outside the blockade line. A quarrel between sea dogs seemed a-brewing, such as had occurred at Navarino and was again to occur at Manila, five years later, a conflict between a blockade commander and neutral men-of-war, which to this very day has not been ruled upon by international law and therefore may break out again at any time. Rosebery on that day found no one at 10 Downing Street except an old woman caretaker, for all officials and all cabinet members were away for the week end. On his own responsibility he wired the British naval commander to turn down the French demand *a limine*, and he sent a note to Paris that his government would not withdraw its ships. In consequence, as he said later, he expected the country, including most of the ministers, to wake up on Monday morning and find themselves at war with France.¹² He informed the queen of the situation, and for something less than twenty-four hours they both faced the possibility of war, a possibility which was too Gorgonic for them to contemplate alone and was therefore communicated by them on the evening of the thirtieth to the German emperor, who happened to be at Cowes for the yacht races.

Before the emperor or the Wilhelmstrasse diplomats had made up their minds what to do in the case of an Anglo-French war and before the cabinet meeting on Siam which Rosebery had called could take place,¹³ an explanation of the "misunderstanding" between the French and the English naval commanders off Bangkok dispelled the war cloud "in an unexpected way", as Rosebery told the German chargé.¹⁴ This anticlimax must have made Rosebery fearful of discussing the situation with members of the government, for the cabinet meeting did not take place. To receive congratulations on the settlement of the question, as he did from Harcourt, who was abroad at that time,¹⁵ must have been considered by Rosebery as putting the best cloak on a wretched business. Much is to be said, no doubt, for the conclusions of the *Times*, in reviewing the documents on the Siam episode in the *Grosse Politik*, that "Lord Rosebery obviously was conscious that he had made a great blunder", and therefore tried repeatedly to explain it away.¹⁶

¹² *Grosse Politik*, VIII, 112.

¹³ Marquess of Crewe, *Lord Rosebery* (London, 1931), II, 425.

¹⁴ *Grosse Politik*, VIII, 110.

¹⁵ Crewe, II, 425.

¹⁶ *The Times*, Jan. 8, 1924.

Within the Liberal cabinet, in whatever way the Siam business was eventually "elucidated" there by Rosebery—and the Grey accounts give an inkling of that—the outcome of the conflict must have strengthened the belief in the ability of England to get along without closer ties. At the same time it confirmed the conviction of the members of the Triple Alliance that no firm relations were possible with the English, who, so the military thought, had abjectly backed down before the French threat.¹⁷ It was probably this interpretation that made the Russians, within a week of the Siamese crisis, "yield to the French importunities" and promise to send a squadron to France, the squadron that was to make that *éclatant* visit at Toulon in October.¹⁸

The document printed below does not contribute much toward direct elucidation of the major problem of the Siam conflict—that is to say, the influence of the conflict on the willingness or unwillingness of the English party leaders to tie England up with the Continental system of alliances. It does, however, clarify what happened among some of the representatives of the "Quadruple Alliance", that much-discussed extension of the Triple Alliance that was to include England, who were assembled on the Solent on and after July 30. It sheds some light on those twenty-four hours when, according to Grey, "it was supposed" (by whom he does not say, but it was clearly by the kaiser among others) "that the French had deliberately challenged us and that war was inevitable" and that the kaiser, evidently "disposed to give German support to British action", had "expressed with evident satisfaction the opinion that there was no way out of the incident but war".¹⁹ According to Grey's first recollections of the Siam episode, which were written down in 1910, the German emperor "openly expressed his satisfaction in conversation when it seemed that we were on the brink of war with France about Siam".²⁰

On the other hand, the earliest written German statement about the kaiser's reaction under the war cloud, about which the *Grosse Politik* itself is rather reticent, the one in Eulenburg's diaries, makes him out as having "completely lost his nerve" when confronted with the possibility of a sudden war in which England's fleet, even with the German ships added, would be weaker than the fleets of Russia and France together and Germany's army would as yet not be strong enough to fight

¹⁷ Alfred von Waldersee, *Denkwürdigkeiten* (Stuttgart, 1923), II, 454-55.

¹⁸ Langer, I, 46.

¹⁹ *Twenty-Five Years* (New York, 1925), I, 14.

²⁰ *British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898-1914*, ed. by G. P. Gooch and Harold Temperley (London, 1926—), VI, 538.

France and Russia at the same time. He bewailed the fact that the French "had picked the moment very adroitly . . . Germany's whole prestige would be lost, unless someone took a leading rôle, and one would cut a miserable figure, unless one were a world power. What should one do?"²¹ Even remembering the danger of the "peculiarly Eulenburgian embellishments",²² namely, that facts were apt to suffer at the hands of "Phili the Wagnerian", it can be said that up to this point, *i.e.*, the night of July 30-31, the emperor—to judge from the best, that it is the *zeitnächsten*, sources—had not expressed himself as in favor of war for England, with or without German or Triple Alliance support.²³

In the morning of the thirty-first Rosebery found that the danger of war was over, that the immediate Anglo-French conflict regarding Siam was due to a mere misunderstanding between naval commanders. The kaiser was so much relieved—and elated, perhaps, by a personal yachting victory²⁴—that now, when the danger was past, he said that he wanted war. According to his own testimony, which is printed below, he told Rosebery so. *When* did he express his regrets that war had failed to come? Rosebery left London for Osborne in the afternoon of August 2 and returned in the evening of the third.²⁵ It seems probable that it was while he was on the Isle of Wight that the conversation took place between him and the emperor to which the latter's marginal notes in the document below refer.

The fact that the emperor's warlike remarks, coming after the close of the incident, were gratuitous, as were his remarks later on, after the settlement of Fashoda,²⁶ calls for less emphasis than does the opportunity they gave Rosebery to save his own face. Rosebery, by pointing to the kaiser's hopes for a war between England and France, was able to avert all deeper probings into his own attitude. This interpretation of the incident would explain Grey's recollections of the episode as given in his later accounts of it. It confirms also the accepted view

²¹ Johannes Haller, *Aus dem Leben des Fürsten Philipp zu Eulenburg-Hertefeld* (Berlin, 1924), p. 84.

²² Kálnoky's judgment. Cited in Karl Friedrich Nowak's *Germany's Road to Ruin* (London, 1932), p. 357.

²³ It seems hardly necessary to mention Hermann von Eckardstein's version in his *Lebenserinnerungen* (Leipzig, 1919-21, II, 208-209), which reflects the version of the circle of the Prince of Wales, or Nowak's (61 ff.), which represents that of the kaiser in the postwar period.

²⁴ E. F. Benson, *The Kaiser and English Relations* (London, 1936), p. 96.

²⁵ *The Times*, Aug. 3, 4, 1893.

²⁶ J. L. Garvin, *Life of Joseph Chamberlain* (London, 1932—), II, 236.

of the difficulty of conducting German foreign affairs with such a man as the kaiser at the helm, particularly when dealing with a man like Rosebery, who, according to Hatzfeldt, was apt to become "fearful and retiring as soon as he gets the impression that he is to be misled into making a possibly dangerous utterance".²⁷ That the kaiser's vagaries were useful in covering up mistakes and blunders of foreign diplomacy and dissensions within foreign parties has not often been noticed or emphasized in the diplomatic history of the prewar period.

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RADOLIN'S REPORT OF FEBRUARY 17, 1902, WITH THE KAISER'S COMMENTS²⁸

Der italienische Botschafter Graf Tornielli sprach mich gestern auf den Verhetzungsartikel der Times an und bemerkte, dass nach seiner Ansicht die englische Gereiztheit gegen Deutschland alten Ursprungs sei und auf die Minister-schaft Rosebery's zurückgehe. Letzterer habe ihm, als er noch Botschafter in London war, bei einem seiner Empfangstage in theatralischer Pose hingeworfen: "Que dites-vous de ce qui se passe dans le monde? . . . Que dites-vous de Siam?" Nach einem längeren Schweigen hätte Rosebery hinzugefügt: "C'est comme cela que quelquefois les grandes guerres commencent."²⁹

²⁷ *Grosse Politik*, VIII, 93.

²⁸ This report, No. 109, was made by Prince Radolin when he was German ambassador in Paris. It and the conversation upon which it was based, a conversation with the Italian ambassador, Count Tornielli, who had been ambassador in London during the Siam crisis, were occasioned by the controversy, raging at the time, whether or not the English ambassador, Lord Pauncefote, had been the author of the plan for a second *démarche* of the diplomatic corps in Washington in 1898 to keep the United States from declaring war. (For details see Alfred Vagts, *Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten in der Weltpolitik*, New York, 1935, pp. 1400 ff.) The out-of-the-way repository of this document, according to the late Professor A. Mendelssohn Bartholdy, to whom it was shown, explains why it was not included in the *Grosse Politik*. The document is to be found in the Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, Berlin, in the series Spanische Besitzungen in Amerika, No. 2, No. 1, Vol. 6.

²⁹ This accords with Holstein's cool remark about the confidential overtures which Rosebery had made to the German and Italian ambassadors as "by no means free from dramatic embellishment" (*Grosse Politik*, VIII, No. 1750) as well as with the story told by Sir E. Malet, a year later, to William II, that Rosebery, in the summer of 1893, wrought up by the Siamese affair, had asked him, Malet, "ex abrupto, if he would be much surprised if England should have war with France within four weeks". If he could trust German friendship, "he would promise to beat the French to smithereens, for that nation deserved no better" (*ibid.*, No. 2052).

Absolute Lüge!
Gerade umgekehrt!³⁰

Das gerade Gegenteil ist der Fall. Ich habe mich ihm zur Verfügung gestellt und Metternich zur Verhandlung geschickt! Aber Rosebery verlor den Mut gleich wieder und *wollte* nicht beißen.

Metternich hat ja mit Genehmigung Ihrer Majestät auf meinem Befehl mit Rosebery verhandelt

ist mir garnicht
eingefallen

Tornielli ist confuse und Rosebery hat ihm grossartig angelogen! Er war *ja gar nicht* zum Schlagen zu bringen. W.

Einige Tage später wäre Lord Rosebery zur Königin nach Windsor gefahren und hätte Ihrer Majestät nahegelegt, dass es für die englischen Interessen geboten sei, Frankreich ohne weiteres den Krieg zu erklären. Ihre Majestät habe dem Minister erwidert, das sei eine sehr ernste Frage und könnte ein solcher Schritt nicht unternommen werden, ohne sich der Zustimmung des deutschen Kaisers zu vergewissern. Die Königin hätte darauf Lord Rosebery angewiesen, Seiner Majestät dem Kaiser, der gerade in Cowes wäre, Vortrag zu halten. Dies wäre geschehen. Lord Rosebery habe aber bei Seiner Majestät eine entschiedene Ablehnung seines Planes gefunden. Der Minister habe infolgedessen auf seine kriegesischen Absichten gegen Frankreich verzichten müssen. Der Stachel sei ihm aber geblieben.

Rosebery wäre nach Ansicht des Grafen Tornielli von der Ueberzeugung ausgegangen, dass Seine Majestät im Rahmen der bismarckschen Politik, Frankreich nicht hochkommen zu lassen, gern die Gelegenheit benutzen würde, bei einem Kriege gegen Frankreich mitzuwirken. Er wäre daher enttäuscht gewesen, bei Seiner Majestät die erhoffte Unterstützung in der Siam-Frage nicht zu finden und hätte Deutschland gleichsam verantwortlich gemacht für die Nachteile, die England daraus erwachsen wären, das sich erholende Frankreich nicht dauernd gelähmt zu haben. Der Groll Lord Rosebery's sei von diesem auf die weiteren politischen Kreise aller Parteien Englands übergegangen und bestehe noch. . . .

Graf Tornielli sagt mir übrigens, er habe seiner Zeit seine Beobachtung über Lord Rosebery's Tendenzen und diesen speziellen Vorfall vor Jahren dem Grafen Metternich während der Krankheit des Grafen Hatzfeldt mitgeteilt. Mir scheint die Erzählung des italienischen Botschafters nicht bekannt geworden zu sein, da die Kunde von der Allerhöchsten Stellungnahme, indirekt zugunsten Frankreichs, sonst jedenfalls lebhaft und sicherlich mit Befriedigung besprochen worden wäre. RADOLIN.³¹

³⁰ These marginal notes are in the handwriting of William II.

³¹ On February 26, 1902, the Wilhelmstrasse sent this document to Count Metternich in London, with the following notice: "Seine Majestät, dem dieser Bericht vorgelegen hat und Allerhöchst Welchem die Einzelheiten der darin geschilderten Vorgänge aus dem August 1893, wie sie sich tatsächlich zugetragen haben, noch ganz gegenwärtig sind, hat dazu bemerkt: Graf Tornielli schien ihm sehr confuse zu sein und Rosebery den Botschafter grossartig angelogen zu haben. Rosebery war ja garnicht zum Schlagen zu bringen gewesen."

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL HISTORY

Business and Capitalism: An Introduction to Business History. By N. S. B. GRAS. (New York: F. S. Crofts and Company. 1939. Pp. xxii, 408. \$3.50.)

IN this book Professor Gras has made an interesting new sketch of the history of capitalism. He is concerned primarily with business administration, that aspect of man's activity to which he has devoted his studies since he was appointed, some twelve years ago, Straus Professor of Business History in the Graduate School of Business Administration at Harvard.

Business, according to Mr. Gras, consists in the arrangement by persons whose incentive is pecuniary gain of the various factors of production (land, labor, and capital) with a view to an increased output or sale of material goods. In this sense business, which is an essential element in capitalism, is not a new phenomenon. It has existed to some extent from an early time in all civilized societies. What have changed are the forms of capitalism, or of business administration, that have been most prominent, the place of business in economic life, and the place occupied by the businessman in public esteem. In Western civilization the petty capitalism of the shopkeeper and traveling merchant, which goes back to at least the twelfth century, has never disappeared. But during the period from the Renaissance to the late eighteenth century the mercantile capitalism of the sedentary merchant (with industrial as well as commercial interests) and the large trading company became more important than petty capitalism. This period was followed by one dominated by industrial capitalism, which lasted from about 1790 to 1890. Most of the leading businessmen concerned themselves, mainly, each with a single great enterprise. Beginning at the end of the nineteenth century and continuing until the crash of 1929, economic life found its center of gravity in financial capitalism, under which the leading businessmen sought their profits by the integration of many varieties of enterprise. Financial capitalism, though it continues to exist along with industrial capitalism, mercantile capitalism, and petty capitalism, has now given way, in its turn, to the ascendancy of national capitalism, in which the control of private capital is mainly political rather than financial.

Throughout his book Mr. Gras is at much pains to insist upon the importance of the role played by the businessman, and most of all by the businessman under "financial capitalism", in creating material wealth. "The key position rests with the man who undertakes to use capital and who must be rewarded with profits. In the long run, if he does not prosper, the rest

cannot" (p. 370). Such men as he "have made history, created what we call 'civilization'" (p. 30).

The thesis running through the book that material progress is the primary factor in "civilization" has occupied an increasingly prominent place in the history of thought during the last four centuries. Mr. Gras has stated it in as naked terms as any writer of standing I have read, with the exception of Professor T. N. Carver in his *Religion Worth Having*, and he seems to assign a greater part than most economists have done to business administration as a factor in promoting material prosperity. In his economic philosophy he has given business administration a place not very far short of that given by the physiocrats to agriculture or by the Marxists to manual labor. He never leaves us in doubt where he stands, and in an age and country where talking on both sides of a question has become a favorite means of avoiding all serious issues, this is a merit, even if we disagree, as I do, with his position and think that he frequently confuses a part with the whole.

In his discussion of the rise and development of various forms of business administration Mr. Gras has drawn to good purpose on his wide knowledge of business history. No one would expect that a survey which comprehends the whole of civilization, and which was written, as he tells us in the preface, during the summer of 1938, with "a few parts later added before going to press in March 1939", would result in a detailed or final history of business enterprise. The book is intended to stimulate further inquiry. In that sense it will be very helpful to historians. It should help them, among other things, to recognize that what marks off the economic structure of Western society in recent times from that of earlier civilized societies is not the existence of capitalism but the dominance of certain advanced forms of capitalism.

The method of sketching employed by Mr. Gras seems to me less satisfactory as the background for "the philosophy of capitalism" set forth in the last pages of the book. But he has a justification for building a philosophy in some haste, and this justification is a weighty one. We are living in grave times, and he is rightly concerned about the future of Western civilization. "For years we have been unconsciously building up a culture for worms, not men; breeding a degenerate society to be swept away by more virile peoples from the hills" (p. xii). Unlike most scholars, Mr. Gras does not feel he can wash his hands of the great problems which confront the Western peoples. We owe him a debt of gratitude for showing that historians have a duty to grapple with these issues.

His solution, so far as I understand it, is to exalt the achievements of the business administrator and, "for those timid souls to whom respectability can come only through a philosophical system" (p. 372), to cling to pragmatism in the hope that the economists who think there are twenty-

five year cycles in business will be proved right and that a boom in the early fifties will restore "financial capitalism" to the place it occupied during the first three decades of this century. For those of us who think that Western civilization is worm-eaten and vulnerable partly because our peoples have lost a just sense of values and have come to exalt material prosperity and the increased volume of output at the expense of such virtues as fine workmanship, beauty, truth, wisdom, religion, and a sense of man's obligation to suffer and to labor regardless of material reward, Mr. Gras's philosophy is not reassuring. No doubt there are many persons, as he frequently remarks, who belittle unintelligently the part played by business administration in the creation of wealth, and it is desirable to show them their error. But can most of the ills of modern society be laid to this error?

What may perhaps be called the business attitude towards life has had greater prestige in recent times than at any other period in recorded history. The values which it emphasizes have enjoyed greater autonomy—greater independence of all other values, religious, ethical, and cultural—than ever before. In their enthusiasm for business administration the persons who champion the business attitude towards life minimize the part played in the material prosperity of Western civilization by natural resources (especially mineral wealth), by peace, free trade, orderly manual labor, invention, the natural science behind invention, and the philosophy of improvement behind both science and invention, a philosophy that goes back to writers like Bacon, Hobbes, and Descartes, none of whom were businessmen. In their enthusiasm for material prosperity the champions of the business attitude towards life forget, along with most economists, that such prosperity is a means, not an end. Even when they recognize that material prosperity is a means, as Mr. Gras does in at least two passages (pp. vii, xii), they regard it as the only means necessary to produce a good society.

The businessman's share in building the material wealth enjoyed by Western civilization today has been important. But is there not a danger that by exaggerating his share and by falsely assuming that material progress inevitably brings with it a more perfect civilization we shall make it increasingly difficult to establish the more balanced and the juster set of values upon which ultimately the future of both Western Europe and the United States depends? While I agree with the main lines of Mr. Gras's analysis of the history of capitalism, it does not seem to me that he has avoided this danger. Do not his suggestions for the future threaten to contribute to the disaster he dreads? There would seem to be little reason to fear that the advantages of material wealth and progress will be forgotten in the American society of our times. While there is perhaps more danger that the role of business administration in producing wealth will be belittled, even that danger does not at present seem to me nearly as great as it does to Mr. Gras. Is there not a greater danger that the pecuniary reward

for which businessmen, like most other people, work will be exalted regardless of the character of the service performed to obtain it, that a man's merit will be confused with the income he receives, the worldly position he occupies, and the publicity he manages to obtain? Is there not also a greater danger that an indiscriminating desire to increase production will destroy taste? Doesn't such confusion help to make a "culture for worms"? Can we assume that if businessmen had had greater influence and prestige than they have possessed during the last half century in America there would have been less of such confusion than there is? Can we even assume, as Mr. Gras seems to do, that we would be in a better position than we are to meet the future? On Mr. Gras's own showing, the businessman under "financial capitalism" in the United States enjoyed more esteem than any other element in society (p. 358), popular pragmatic philosophy was becoming influential, the conditions which he regards as favorable to "civilization" were almost achieved. Yet the immediate sequel, he tells us, is desperate. "One of three things must happen: civilization will go down into the dust of the past; or communistic capitalism will be tried as a desperate remedy; or businessmen will lead or support a revolt . . . in the direction of autocratic national capitalism" (p. 331). Mr. Gras apparently does not relish these prospects. Is the "financial capitalism" which he would like to see restored to the position it occupied before 1929 altogether without responsibility for the "degenerate society" he deplores? While it would be one-sided to suggest that "financial capitalism" should bear the whole responsibility, the maintenance of Christian civilization depends upon a recognition by all elements in society, including the businessman, that riches are good only insofar as they contribute to the virtue and wisdom, as well as to the wealth, of man. Perhaps no one has a right to ask that Mr. Gras, on top of the many services he has rendered to scholarship, should have broken away from the traditional position of the economist and the traditional view of the businessman. But if he had done so, if he had sought for another solution than the one he offers, he might have been more hopeful concerning the future.

The University of Chicago.

JOHN U. NEF.

L'organisation corporative du moyen âge à la fin de l'ancien régime: Études présentées à la Commission internationale pour l'histoire des assemblées d'états. Volume III. [Université de Louvain, Recueil de travaux, publiés par les Membres des Conférences d'histoire et de philologie.] (Louvain: Bureaux du Recueil, Bibliothèque de l'Université. 1939. Pp. xi, 265. 45 fr.)

SYMPTOMATIC of present-day apprehensions as to the future of representative government has been the increasing attention devoted to its basic premises, in particular to the beginnings of parliaments and assemblies of estates. This volume, third in its series, is largely a by-product of the Zurich

Congress of 1938. The twelve papers relate to topics in the history of assemblies in England, France, Hungary, the Netherlands, Savoy, and Switzerland. Written in four languages by authorities or specialists, they constitute an attempt to approach the problem of origins with reference to what is termed the "corporatist" theory of the state. First propounded by Wohlwill and Below, the theory has received considerable currency in the last decade at the hands of Hintze and particularly of Émile Lousse, in the *Revue historique de droit* and the *Historisch Tijdschrift* (1935). The central notion is that the medieval system of estates was the outcome of a collaboration of the orders of society which crystallized about the social or juridical status of its members.

The success with which the writers have justified the theory is by no means complete. More than one frankly ignores it. Others, while purporting to explain an estates-system, attempt no more than a description of the development of the central assembly. This in itself suggests that the theory may be useful in explaining the rise of assemblies of estates where, for example, the mercantile element loomed large, as in Holland and Switzerland, but that it is by no means profitable to rewrite all institutional history in these terms. True, M. Delcambre has found the theory useful in accounting for the rise of the estates of Velay, where economic backwardness was marked. But applied too widely, is not the corporatist theory likely to blur the picture, all too faint, of these institutions as they really were? It seems almost obvious that, excepting perhaps the *métiers jurés*, few contemporaries thought in terms of the corporate organization of the community. They thought in terms of relationships with each other. Powicke points out in his refreshing essay (p. 140) that the fourteenth century Englishman was almost untouched by discussions about the corporation: witness the writings of Ockham, who refused to let the individual be swallowed up in the *communitas*. The value of a conceptual scheme lies in its setting the limits within which observation is important, not in obscuring the accuracy of concrete observation.

Interest will probably focus more on the general accounts and on new material in the book than on the applicability of the corporatist theory. Professor Liebeskind has written on the Swiss assemblies, and Professor Eckhart has carried the history of the Hungarian diet to the nineteenth century. There is a sixty-page paper on the Netherlands which draws on the twelfth century Flemish chronicler, Galbert von Brügge, and an account of the estates of Périgord under Henri IV. Signor Tallone has pointed to instances of conscious borrowing between the assemblies of France and Savoy (pp. 198, 200). Professor Mályusz has made an admirable analysis of the social classes in medieval Hungary in relation to the rise of the estates, which he sees in terms of a conflict between Eastern and Western ideas.

Two papers deserve special notice. One, by Georges de Lagarde, contains pertinent observations on the theories of delegation and representation

in a century before they had crystallized, when the old order was dead and when the assemblies of estates were merely one of several solutions of the new. The other, by Miss Cam, discusses recent work concerning the function of English members of parliament in relation to their constituencies in the fourteenth century. The dilemma of representatives between duty to constituencies and duty to patrons is forcefully presented (pp. 154-56) by reprinting a satiric description of parliament written in 1399, *Richard the Redeless*. It is a source strangely neglected by historians and suggests that at least one problem of parliament in the eighteenth century had a long history behind it.

Harvard University.

GEORGE L. HASKINS.

Monetary Experiments, Early American and Recent Scandinavian. By RICHARD A. LESTER. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1939. Pp. xvii, 316. \$3.50.)

The Treasury and Monetary Policy, 1933-1938. By G. GRIFFITH JOHNSON, JR. [Harvard Political Studies.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1939. Pp. 230. \$2.75.)

PROFESSOR LESTER's case studies include "(I) attempts to overcome business depressions by means of monetary policies, and (II) attempts to achieve a more stable price level, a more stable economy, or a more satisfactory kind of money through the adoption of a new or different monetary standard" (p. x).

In most of the American colonies there was a real shortage of metallic money. The author shows that it was necessary to issue paper money and that strictly limited issues were successful and did not lead to inflation in the particular experiments which he studies. He considers that most of the disastrous paper-money inflations in history have been occasioned by war conditions and that a paper currency can be managed successfully in normal times, often with advantage to the economy.

The Scandinavian experiments include the gold-exclusion policy of Sweden during the World War, which was not entirely successful but probably limited the extent of inflation; the depressions in Denmark and Norway after they returned to gold at the prewar rate and the relative prosperity in Finland which revalued at the current rate; and Sweden's experiment with managed money from 1931 to 1939, which saved her from the extreme deflation suffered by other countries.

On the whole the author considers the colonial experiments more successful than the Scandinavian, largely because of the surrounding conditions and in particular the absence of bank credit as a part of the currency. He is definitely skeptical of the gold standard, and his closing chapter is entitled "A Challenge to Orthodoxy". He favors a managed currency or, if that is thought unsafe, a commodity standard, with the government storing surplus commodities. Whether or not Professor Lester's conclusions are

accepted, it is useful to have these detailed and well-documented accounts of monetary experiments on record.

Dr. Johnson discusses still more recent experiments; some of them cannot be finally evaluated at present, but contemporary discussion is helpful. The author is in general sympathetic with the aims of the Administration in 1933 and 1934 to restore a normal price level but admits the failure of the gold policy to accomplish all that was desired. He points out the weakness of a stabilization fund composed entirely of gold and therefore unable to carry out the expressed aim of keeping down the value of the dollar, since it has no dollars to put on the market. As to the silver program, he considers the motivation primarily political and feels that because of the failure of the program there is hope for repeal. He writes: "The silver movement, it is true, may again arise in a subsequent depression, but in view of the trend in this country and throughout the world it seems more likely that gold will be relegated to the status of silver than that agitation for the converse will appear" (p. 200).

Dr. Johnson stresses the gain in importance of the Treasury over the Federal Reserve System; the extraordinary way in which Congress has surrendered its constitutional powers and delegated monetary control to the Executive (except in the case of the silver policy, which was forced on the Administration by a powerful bloc in Congress); and the fact that the President, rather than the Treasury, has made the real decisions, relying upon a succession of advisers.

DICKSON H. LEAVENS.

Cowles Commission for Research in Economics.

European Civilization: Its Origin and Development. By various contributors under the direction of EDWARD EYRE. Volume VII, *The Relations of Europe with Non-European Peoples.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1939. Pp. vi, 1209. Maps 20. \$6.50.)

As is so often true of works of an encyclopedic character, the several parts of this volume (fifteen, by thirteen contributors) display little uniformity. Except insofar as they all pertain to European relations with and activities in non-European lands, it is difficult to apply generalizations to the whole. A few of the essays, taking for granted a considerable background of factual knowledge on the part of the reader, are given over almost entirely to syntheses of European enterprise abroad; others are substantially chronological outlines of events occurring over extended periods; still others are devoted largely or entirely to special aspects of European contacts with various non-European cultures. The value of individual contributions varies likewise, a few being noteworthy both as historical and as literary products, others hardly achieving mediocrity in either respect.

Some useful contributions atone in part for the uneven character of the book. Interpretations of the relations of Christian Europe with the Moslem

world, in particular, are both illuminating and sound, and a number of popular misconceptions are noted and corrected. Chapters on European geographical discovery and exploration throw some light on the knowledge and ideas of the later Middle Ages. On the other hand, several sections dealing with European enterprise in Africa, the Far East, America, and Oceanica are largely destitute of new knowledge or of tenable points of view. Accounts of British operations in Africa, for example, follow strictly traditional lines. An unsophisticated reader might be led to conclude that in parts of Africa as well as in India, China, Japan, and the Americas all consequential and lasting European influences emanated primarily, if not solely, from the devoted work of Catholic mission fathers. (The reviewer objects to the use of such terms as "gangsters" and "bumped off" in the account of the practices of the Dutch in Batavia.) The dark pictures painted by several of the authors of exploitation of East Indians by the East India Company, American Indians by European pioneers, and African Negroes by all and sundry probably have all too much factual basis; the history of European contacts with weaker peoples must needs take account of a great deal of slaughter and rapine. Yet page after page of records of killings unrelieved by explanations of the circumstances under which they took place scarcely seem to serve a useful purpose. No more do loose and extravagant statements. Few critics of the ineptitude shown by the United States government in dealing with minorities will be able to keep pace with Père Charles, for instance, who declares that "the reputation of General Otis abides in the hearts of the Philippine Islanders more accursed than the names of all the Spanish generals combined" (p. 803), or with MacLeod, who avers that the 15,000,000 Negroes in the United States have been so badly abused that they "persistently appear to be innately less capable of civilization than even their kin in the African colonies" (p. 821).

Of the twenty folding maps incorporated at the end of the volume, most of them pertaining to European colonial enterprise in North America, hardly more than half contain enough detail or illustrative value to warrant their inclusion. The index, however, adequately meets the demands of a book of more than twelve hundred pages.

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HALFORD L. HOSKINS.

ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The History of History. By JAMES T. SHOTWELL, Bryce Professor of the History of International Relations, Columbia University. Volume I, Revised Edition of *An Introduction to the History of History*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. Pp. xii, 407. \$3.75.)

PROFESSOR Shotwell's *Introduction to the History of History* has done good service since it was published in 1922. It has now appeared in a revised edition under a more appropriate title and as the first part of a series which

will presumably embrace, if and when it is completed, the history of history in medieval and modern as well as in ancient times. The revision, though it has left the original unaltered in essentials, has not been perfunctory. One chapter has been transposed with advantage, another has been added. There are corrections of facts and of style and additions both from the pen of the author and from that of Professor Swain. The bibliographies have been shifted from the ends of chapters to the end of the book, and some of the sediment of footnotes has been withdrawn.

Professor Shotwell's purpose is not to present an encyclopaedia of ancient historians nor to analyze minutely the works of the greatest of them (though a separate chapter is devoted in turn to Herodotus, Thucydides, Polybius, Livy, and Tacitus); it is to determine the conceptions of history as they were unfolded progressively among the peoples of antiquity who practiced this genre—Jews, Greeks, Romans, Christians—and in so doing to ascertain the characteristics of what he calls antique history in general. His point of reference is the modern science of historiography with its critical examination of sources, its collecting and cataloguing of material, its catholicity of view in which the commonalty and statesmen have their place, and individuals theirs. Judging by this standard, Professor Shotwell dwells on the limitations of ancient historians. Thucydides falls from the lofty pedestal on which, for example, Eduard Meyer placed him. "Upon the whole then", our author concludes (p. 221), "there is almost nothing to learn from antique interpretations of history. They interest us because of their antiquity and their drift from the supernatural to the natural. But they did not achieve a method which would open up the natural and let us see its working. They are of no service to us in our own interpretations." Later Professor Shotwell reviews the history of modern interpretations and decides that what it has led up to is "progressive clarification. . . . From this point of view, therefore, interpretation, instead of assuming the position of a final judge of conduct or an absolute law, becomes only a suggestive stimulus for further research" (p. 35).

The trouble with Thucydides is that, unlike Polybius for example, he leaves us to infer his method of interpretation from his history itself. Analysis of his history carries us some way to a comprehension of his method, but in his method is comprised exclusion as well as inclusion of materials, and analysis of what he included cannot disclose his whole process of selection. Like many historians Thucydides writes with a purpose. His purpose is first and foremost to record what actually happened in the great war between the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians. To accomplish this successfully, he had to be aware of the immense difficulty of the task. Historically viewed such awareness was a, perhaps *the*, characteristic of Thucydides, and it forced him to cross-question witnesses and thus, like Socrates, press on in the quest of truth. Professor Shotwell chides him, as well as Tacitus, for

having defined his field too narrowly. One might cite in justification of Thucydides Goethe's aphorism, "In der Beschränkung zeigt sich erst der Meister", one of the prime maxims of classicism and of modern science. Thucydides eliminated the past as being, in substance, unknowable and, in comparison, insignificant and devoted himself not merely to contemporary times but to their military history. I cannot admit that a historian is blameworthy for not doing something which he did not attempt; but I concede that ancient historiography has little to teach us as to the methods of exploring the past which lay behind its own origins. On the other hand, the charge which Professor Shotwell levels against Thucydides that, obsessed by the incidents of his war, he failed to evaluate the economic and social forces by which these incidents were conditioned seems to me unproved. The social strivings and the material appetites of the war-time Athenians were too familiar on the comic stage for Thucydides to have been unaware of them. I have no doubt that he was a close student of society. The truth would seem to me to be that, like Plato and Aristotle, he converted the forces which we describe as social-economic into the ideas, feelings, and behavior of the individuals and groups whom these forces were affecting. Statistical tables are not the only way in which, even today, such matter of history may be presented.

Professor Shotwell subscribes to the view so tersely stated by Gaetano de Sanctis that "la vita è maestra della storia". Historiography is, he states, "a mere reflection of changing societies". *The History of History* is therefore more than its name indicates. It is at the same time a history of civilizations in their successive phases. In this sense Professor Shotwell understands his theme. And it must be said that he does it justice. He has given us a stimulating book characterized by breadth of outlook, cogency of style, and fullness of knowledge. It can be read with profit by laymen as well as historians, by moderns as well as lovers of the "antiques" (I detest the name).

Harvard University.

W. S. FERGUSON.

Early Ionian Historians. By LIONEL PEARSON. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1939. Pp. vi, 240. \$5.00.)

ENGLISH scholarship has produced much significant work on Herodotus and Thucydides but hardly anything on the earlier Greek historians whose works (now in fragmentary condition) left their mark upon Herodotus and Thucydides. These early historians have been studied, it is true, by German scholars, but as an approach to Herodotus and his sources rather than as historians in their own right. An English-speaking student will find, to be sure, some information on the logographers in textbooks of Greek literature and classical dictionaries, but there is nothing in these brief accounts to give him a true picture of Hecataeus, Hellanicus, and others, whose contribution to Greek historiography is of considerable importance. More is found in

Bury's *Ancient Greek Historians*, but the thirty-five pages devoted to the logographers serve only as an introduction to Herodotus, Thucydides, and Polybius, in whom the book centers. Furthermore Jacoby's publication of *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* renders Bury's account antiquated. Again, the late Professor Heidel's excellent study, *Hecataeus and the Egyptian Priests in Herodotus Book II*, as the title indicates, is not concerned with Hecataeus for his own sake. It is clear, then, that a monograph in English that would offer a comprehensive treatment of the logographers *per se* is urgently needed. This need is now supplied by Pearson's book. He believes, and rightly, that before the question of the literary sources of Herodotus is approached a thorough examination of the special characteristics of the logographers is necessary. Four are selected for study: Hecataeus, Xanthus, Charon, and Hellanicus.

Pearson devotes his introductory chapter to a thorough study of all the forces that impelled the Greeks to study their past. He is careful to define the character and work of the logographer, and he also touches briefly upon the interest shown in the logographers in Alexandrian, Roman, and Byzantine times.

The study of Hecataeus (ch. II) begins with a searching investigation of the biographical data of this pioneer of geographical science, followed by an examination of the fragments, which are arranged and discussed. The same method of treatment is applied to the other logographers. Since Hecataeus was a geographer and a mythographer, both activities are studied separately, first the geographical (*Periegesis*) and then the historical (*Genealogiae*). Though his attitude toward history and geography was still under the influence of the Homeric and Hesiodic traditions and therefore far from scientific, his tendency to rationalize mythography shows a healthy sign of incipient critical approach. Hecataeus even employed some chronological method, but Pearson rejects the theories that he approached the chronological system which Hellanicus worked out. Most interesting is Pearson's treatment of the fragments dealing with Egypt (pp. 81-90). This chapter on the whole permits one to gauge the extent of Herodotus's indebtedness to Hecataeus.

Chapter III studies Xanthus the Lydian, from whose work, which was a combination of "myth, anecdote, and more sober historical narrative" (p. 134), Herodotus learned the art of introducing Oriental tales into his history. Chapter IV takes up Charon of Lampsacus. Though some of his fragments show Herodotean characteristics, Pearson finds the evidence too scanty to justify a decision concerning the relation between Charon and Herodotus even on the point of chronological precedence.

The fifth and last chapter is devoted to Hellanicus, whose greatest contribution was the introduction of a system of chronology calculated to end the confusion of the mythical period. It is clear that this added stimulus to

later historical research. The conflicting evidence for Hellanicus's life and writings is well evaluated, and one gets a quite full picture of his wide literary activity. In the reconstruction of the *Phoronis* Pearson differs from the versions of Jacoby and Kullmer (p. 170), and his suggestions in favor of a triple division of this work are plausible.

All in all Pearson's is a scholarly volume which no serious student of ancient history can afford to ignore. The facts are well presented, the evidence from ancient sources is carefully sifted, and modern contributions are objectively discussed. Rather than indulge in useless conjectures and speculations he prefers, when the evidence is exhausted or lacking, to admit that the key to a given situation cannot be found (pp. 105-106, 146). He has little use for methods that do violence to the text (p. 121, n. 3; p. 125). The book is excellently documented, and every chapter is accompanied by a good bibliography. Above all Pearson succeeds in breathing life into the *disiecta membra*. They are no longer meaningless and barren, and a fuller understanding of them paves the way for a fuller understanding of Herodotus. It is to be hoped that Dr. Pearson will continue his work and save other logographers from unmerited oblivion.

Hunter College.

JACOB HAMMER.

Rom und Italien: Die römische Bundesgenossenpolitik von den Anfängen bis zum Bundesgenossenkrieg. Von JOSEF GÖHLER. [Breslauer historische Forschungen.] (Breslau: Verlag Priebatschs Buchhandlung. 1939. Pp. ix, 217. 10 M.)

GÖHLER's study is the result of his conviction that modern writers have not paid due attention to the part played by the Roman allies in Italy in the development of the Roman Empire. As the basis for a proper evaluation of their historical role he has re-examined the prevailing views on the Roman policy toward Latin and federate allies and, on the basis of a penetrating study of the sources, reached new and significant conclusions.

He finds that the Romans, in the course of the formation of their military federation in Italy, did not push the maxim "divide et impera" so far as to disrupt city or communal political entities although leagues and confederations necessarily were dissolved. Furthermore, there was no conscious policy of cultural Romanization. During the period of the Carthaginian wars and the conquest of the eastern Mediterranean area the military burdens imposed upon the allies in relation to Rome did not exceed the normal ratio of 2:1 established prior to the second Punic War. Contrary to general opinion, Göhler does not find any change in the official attitude of Rome towards her allies in the second century B.C. before the year 133, in spite of isolated outrages perpetrated by Roman magistrates. Nor was there any desire on the part of the allied communities for Roman citizenship at this time. Yet their ultimate incorporation into the Roman state was inevi-

table; the tragedy was that the method of enfranchisement became a matter of party politics in Rome. Since the problem was raised first in connection with the agrarian legislation of Tiberius Gracchus, the major portion of the book (pp. 70-194) is devoted to a detailed examination of the work of the Gracchi and its immediate consequences. The author is at pains to prove that both brothers grasped the agrarian problem in its widest implications and strove for a solution which would be in the interests of Italy as a whole and not merely of Rome. Of the three post-Gracchan agrarian laws reported by Appian, Göhler places the first as probably falling in 121 B.C., the second (the *lex Thoria*) before 111 B.C., while he identifies the third with the *lex agraria* of 111 B.C. The investigation terminates with the year 99 B.C., since the author regards the subsequent moves in the complicated problem as the direct antecedents to the revolt of 90 B.C., which he reserves for future treatment. Written in the older traditions of German scholarship, with ample recognition of foreign contributions, this is a valuable study worthy of serious consideration.

The University of Michigan.

A. E. R. BOAK.

Yale Classical Studies. Edited for the Department of Classics by AUSTIN M. HARMON, Lampson Professor of Greek, ALFRED R. BELLINGER, Lampson Professor of Latin, HENRY T. ROWELL, Assistant Professor of Latin. Volume VI. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1939. Pp. 167. \$2.00.)

SINCE five out of the six articles in this volume are not strictly historical in character, they must be briefly dismissed here. Bellinger discusses the art of Euripides in two stimulating essays whose scholarship is distinguished, with rare modesty, by a welcome absence of footnotes: "Achilles' Son and Achilles" and "The *Bacchae* and the *Hippolytus*". The next two articles are highly technical: Allen proves the relation of a Yale manuscript of Tacitus, *Codex Budensis Rhenani*, to the Genoese group by its handling of the displacement of the text in *His.* IV 46-53. Mendell, presenting the first comprehensive survey of the manuscripts for the latter portion of the *Annals* and the *Histories*, divides them into four groups (pp. 44-45) and seeks to show that the *recentiores* descend from a tradition independent of their senior by three centuries, the second Medicean. If this contention is true, the text criticism of this portion of Tacitus can no longer depend solely on the second Medicean but must give serious attention to the later manuscripts. In the last article, Maguire demonstrates that the pseudo-Aristotelian *De Mundo*, probably composed about the beginning of the Christian era (p. 113), does not derive to any considerable extent from Posidonius or even from Stoic sources in general, but chiefly from Peripatetic-neo-Pythagorean and eclectic-Academic material.

Rowell contributes the fifth and only historical article, on "The *Honesta Missio* from the *Numeri* of the Roman Imperial Army". He concludes that

the *numeri* mentioned in three diplomas (*C.I.L.* XVI, 75, 108, 114) were bodies of non-Roman natives who received special grants of citizenship on their discharge. From the time of Pius, children born to soldiers in the *auxilia* or *numeri* no longer, as previously, received the citizenship granted to their fathers upon discharge because these children formed a necessary reservoir of recruits for the noncitizen troops. A second section deals with the *dediticii*, so important for the Edict of Caracalla. On the basis of a new reading of an inscription (*C.I.L.* XIII, 6592) which mentions British natives in service on the German *limes*, Rowell suggests that tribes who surrendered without terms to the Romans became *dediticii* and that if they were enrolled in the army, they did not receive the citizenship upon discharge. Their officers in this instance were fellow Britons of peregrine but not *deditician* status and were, therefore, entitled to citizenship like the *numeri* of the diplomas. Probably, also, the children of *dediticii* were freed from the stigma attached to their fathers so that they stood on equal terms with ordinary *gentiles* and with the children of soldiers in the noncitizen forces. Thus the class of *dediticii*, at least from a military point of view, was maintained only by fresh conquest and always remained small. These conclusions help to explain the exclusion of *dediticii* from the citizenship bestowed by the Edict of Caracalla, if that document did exclude them, and also their unimportance in that and other sources.

Harvard University.

MASON HAMMOND.

La société féodale: La formation des liens de dépendance. Par MARC BLOCH, professeur à la Sorbonne. [L'évolution de l'humanité, XXXIV¹.] (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel. 1939. Pp. xxv, 472. Plates V. 45 fr.)

This volume by a well-known authority presents a useful and readable synthesis of social, economic, and, in a certain measure, cultural conditions in Western Europe during the period when the seignoral system and feudalism were being established. Developments in Germany, Italy, and Spain are sketched, usually with brevity. The core of the work is in the chapters which deal with the creation of bonds of dependence and the fief. The phases of the feudal regime which belong to the field of government are reserved to another volume by the same author. He distinguishes between what he terms the first feudal age, extending from the Mussulman, Hungarian, and Scandinavian invasions up to 1050, and the second feudal age, that of economic revolution from 1050 to 1250. The work of the earlier age was above all that of the simplification of *redevances*. At the conclusion of the work an oft-needed distinction is made. The *seigneurie* in itself has no title to a place among feudal institutions. It gave a particular tone to human relations, but it still subsisted when, in a stronger state under a money economy, relations truly characteristic of feudality lost their vigor.

The wide learning of Professor Bloch is apparent. The plan of the

volume, however, does not admit of precise documentations. Chansons are sometimes cited in evidence along with juridical and manorial sources. The beginnings of the second feudal age are correlated with the intellectual movement known as the renaissance of the twelfth century, with the philosophy of Anselm, the revival of the Roman law, and the first mathematical effort of the schools at Chartres. By this time bonds of blood were giving way before the responsibility of the lord. Professor Bloch holds that the transformation of the Frankish army was not accomplished by Charles Martel but rather by the substitution of the Maifeld for the Marchfeld in 755 to assure forage. To the intellectual influence of the traditional importance of the year 1000 he still attaches some weight. Anglo-Saxon England is described as a society of German contexture and of spontaneous evolution; some Merovingian influence on the creation of conditions of dependence is assumed, especially that of the immunity. The reviewer doubts that the Anglo-Saxon *cnicht*, termed by the author "knight", is shown in the sources to hold the place in the military system which is assigned to him (p. 282). To the enlightening treatment of the heritability and divisibility of the fief might well be added mention of the usage of *parage* in England, by which the fief was divided amongst heiresses when a male successor was lacking.

University of California.

WILLIAM A. MORRIS.

Studies in Early French Taxation. By JOSEPH R. STRAYER and CHARLES H. TAYLOR. [Harvard Historical Monographs.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939. Pp. xiii, 200. \$1.50.)

THESE excellent studies, "written independently with no thought of joint publication", deal primarily with consent to taxation. Professor Strayer discusses "Consent to Taxation under Philip the Fair" and Professor Taylor, "Assemblies of Towns and War Subsidy, 1318-1319". They form, however, chapters in a continuous history.

The reign of Philip IV was important because of the expansion of taxation shown by the frequently repeated levies and the fact that they were based upon an assessment of property, both of the clergy and the laity; hence the necessity for obtaining authorization of the levy by some body that would be regarded as legal. The only authority generally regarded as qualified to give assent to such levies was the property holder himself. But the experiments made by the government in this period show that it was moving in the direction of the transformation of this individual consent of prelate, lay noble, or other property holder into a consent given by some competent higher authority.

The important central governing group was the royal council, outgrowth of the curia regis. This small body reinforced by a few prelates and lay nobles was the only central authority which could be employed to authorize

these taxes, but its decision was not generally regarded as adequate. For at once negotiations began with groups of churchmen for the tenths on the church and with nobles, cities, and regional groups for the subsidies on the laity. Thus the principle of individual consent persisted. While precedents were established for repeated taxation, Professor Strayer shows the steady rise of opposition to such a degree that at the close of the reign two taxes were abandoned, the second having met with the armed opposition of the nobles. That the French never even attempted to secure a general charter of protection against arbitrary taxation probably indicates the strength of the opposition.

At the end of the reign of Philip the Fair the government seems to have felt the inadequacy of the measures by which they had authorized new levies. Such a conclusion emerges from a reading of the cogent arguments of Professor Taylor concerning the assemblies of towns in 1318-19 (first employed unsuccessfully in 1314). These two regional representative groups were asked to approve a tax in principle only. Then, if and when the reinforced central council authorized a specific tax later, the assessors could appeal to these decisions in their negotiations with local groups and more readily secure their assent to the levy. So at the end of the period covered by this work individual consent remained the rule. Here appears the extraordinary difficulty faced by the royal council of securing an authorization by some competent body which would be accepted by the taxpayers as authoritative so that they would easily co-operate in paying the tax.

This problem in France indicates the importance in English history of the continual employment in government of the great curia regis, which had vanished south of the Channel with the expansion of the Capetian monarchy. Its disappearance in France was a cause of the difference between the constitutional histories of France and England in the fourteenth century. France retained no such ancient customary group in either its original or an amended form, a group constantly sharing in the work of governing the state and to which the administration could turn to authorize these new levies. Any such assembly would have to be created entirely *de novo*, a difficult task.

This good book is an excellent introduction to a thorny and important subject.

Yale Univesity.

SYDNEY K. MITCHELL.

Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada. By SEYMOUR DE RICCI, with the assistance of W. J. WILSON. Three volumes. [The American Council of Learned Societies.] (New York: H. W. Wilson Company. 1935; 1937; 1940. Pp. xxiii, 1102; xviii, 1103-2343; vi, 222. \$6.50; \$7.50; \$3.00.)

MANUSCRIPT catalogues are a prime essential of historical and literary

research. Without their guidance one might about as well hunt for a needle in a haystack. The present work, therefore, which lists together in one catalogue all the medieval and renaissance manuscripts in this country and Canada, is of the utmost service, especially as no printed catalogues have hitherto been available for most of the particular collections scattered far and wide over the face of this continent. The transit of the manuscripts from the Old World to the New has been increasingly rapid since the World War. Even specialists in particular fields will probably be astonished at the number of manuscripts germane to their interests now available on this side of the Atlantic. The catalogue opens up many new vistas and avenues for investigation, although a large percentage of the items are collectors' pieces rather than primarily significant for their contents.

Valuable as this catalogue is, its worth might have been substantially increased by one or two added features which would have required little extra labor or additional space but only a little more forethought on the part of those planning the enterprise and publication. For one thing, the *incipit* of each treatise might have been given. As it is, this has been done in only a relatively few instances. Another improvement would have been to number all the manuscripts in the catalogue consecutively as well as to give their shelfmarks in the collections where they were found when the catalogue was compiled. Often, apparently, there were no such shelfmarks, and the manuscript was simply numbered arbitrarily for the purposes of this catalogue. Since so many of these manuscripts were in private hands and likely to be sold or given to public and university libraries at the death of their owners, and since the librarians even of permanent collections have a passion for renumbering the codices in their care, it would have been well to give each manuscript a number of its own in this catalogue by which it might thereafter be identified, as editions of incunabula are identified by their numbers in Hain or the Gesamtkatalog. Then this consecutive numbering might have been continued in any subsequent supplementary catalogue of additional manuscripts. I have had occasion to examine various manuscripts in the Plimpton collection, now deposited in the Plimpton Library at Columbia University. In no case did the numbers given in this catalogue for these particular manuscripts agree with those by which they are now designated in the Plimpton Library, although the collection has supposedly been kept intact. I have since had the same experience in several other libraries. The catalogue numbers differed also from those on the last proof sheets in the possession of the custodian of the Plimpton Library. Identification of the individual manuscript might have been further assured by noting the first words of the second leaf. A list of a considerable number of manuscripts in the Plimpton collection which Mr. de Ricci overlooked will be issued shortly by the Columbia University Library.

A few changes of reading in the Latin may be suggested: p. 1238,

"Largus amans hylaris . . ." instead of "Largus animas hylaris . . ."; p. 1847, "Campanus of Novara" instead of "Johannes Campanus, De novaria"; p. 1899, line 2, "sinuum" instead of "sinium"; p. 2056, MS. 167, "libros Meteororum" instead of "libros Meteorum"; p. 2106, "Geber" instead of "Gebrus" and "De generatione et corruptione" rather than "De genere et corruptione".

The third volume, consisting of 222 closely printed double columned pages, is devoted to indexes which comprise, in addition to a full general index, alphabetical lists of scribes, illuminators, and cartographers, of *incipits*, insofar as those have been noted, of present owners, and of previous owners.

Columbia University.

LYNN THORNDIKE.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, with an Introduction, Notes, and an Account of his Life. By WILBUR CORTEZ ABBOTT, Francis Lee Higginson Professor of History, Emeritus, Harvard University, Research Associate in History, Yale University, with the assistance of Catherine D. Crane. Volume II, *The Commonwealth, 1649-1653*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1939. Pp. xvi, 806. \$5.00.)

THE second of the four volumes planned by Professor Abbott has appeared within two years of the publication of the first (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII, 372). It is a running commentary, inset with documents, which covers the period from the execution of Charles I to the dissolution of the Long Parliament. The commentary is a mixture of detailed narrative and judicious reflections, and the proportion which the Cromwellian documents bear to the commentary may be estimated roughly as that of one to seven or eight. In effect the volume may be considered to be a rehandling, from the point of view of Cromwell's career and development, of the ground covered in the first two volumes of S. R. Gardiner's *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*. As such, Professor Abbott's work has two great and signal merits. In the first place it takes account of, and makes its reckoning with, all the writings on the period which have appeared in the forty-odd years since Gardiner published his volumes. In the second place, it tests every statement and every view by constant reference to the original authorities. (It is curious to notice how exiguous, even for important events, the original authorities occasionally are. This is a fact which comes out clearly in the author's account of the dissolution of the Long Parliament.) It may be added—and this is really part of the same merit—that Professor Abbott shows a singular objectivity in his treatment of Cromwell himself and of all the vexed questions of the Cromwellian period. He has no *parti pris*, and he speaks with the authentic voice of the scientific historian. (This too is admirably illustrated in the account of the dissolution of the Long Parlia-

ment.) The result is that his work is likely to be, for many years, a mine for those who quarry to find the exact truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

The work may thus be said to be annals—Cromwellian annals—of four packed and stirring years. Sometimes the annals glow into memorable scenes—as in the account of the dealing with the mutiny at Burford, or of Cromwell and Fairfax receiving the degree of D. C. L. at Oxford, or of the conduct of Cromwell at Drogheda; sometimes they follow their plain and simple course. If Cromwellian documents for this period are not plentiful, Professor Abbott adds relevant and illuminating quotations from other authorities. He also adds to his volume four illustrations, drawn from material in his own collection, and an equal number of maps to illustrate Cromwell's campaigns. He adds too an appendix containing new documents for the period covered by his first volume which have come to his attention since it was published; and above all he adds a complete and exhaustive index to the first two volumes, which covers nearly 140 pages.

In the preface to this second volume Professor Abbott makes an observation on the plan of his work which deserves to be quoted since it describes the essence of his method. "The plan . . . has been first to gather all the evidence possible about the subject, then to set it down in chronological order, explaining, in so far as possible, the circumstances and events which might serve to make it more intelligible." In other words, which he also uses, he has sought to record the phenomena of the life of a human being as fully and with as much inclusion of all available material as if he were a biologist recording the life history of a species. It is the method of Cuvier. Using that method, Professor Abbott has set down all the obtainable evidence, great or small. He has set it down faithfully, in an authentic text which reproduces, as far as possible, the exact words of Cromwell, with such indicated changes (and those only) as may clarify his meaning; and he has always given references to the source of his text and to the other works in which any document has been printed. It is a scientific method, and the result is an *opus scientiae*—a work by a historical scholar written for historical scholars.

Cambridge University.

ERNEST BARKER.

Studies in the History of Political Philosophy before and after Rousseau.

By C. E. VAUGHAN, Formerly Professor of English Literature in the University of Leeds. Edited by A. G. Little. Two volumes. With a List of the Writings of Professor Vaughan by H. B. Charlton. (Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1939. Pp. xxix, 364; xx, 6, 336. 25s.)

THESE two volumes are a republication of the studies of political thinkers written by the late Professor Vaughan around and about his main work, the *Political Writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau*. The first volume is de-

voted to the philosophers of the social contract—Hobbes, Spinoza, and Locke—ending with “the eclipse of contract” in Vico and Montesquieu and “the assault on contract” in Hume. The second volume opens with Burke, pursues the German idealists from Kant to Hegel, and ends with Comte and Mazzini.

Since the date of the original publication of these essays (1925) an unusual number of volumes have appeared in the field of political philosophy, and a comparison of Vaughan’s work with the best of them gives emphasis both to the qualities and to the defects of his treatment. Vaughan appears more than ever as the elaborator of a traditional approach. He is the painstaking student of his texts, erudite, thorough, logical in a literary philosophical manner, keen to discover inconsistencies, accurate in his summation of doctrines. But we sense a remoteness from the flesh-and-blood struggles that gave appeal to these political doctrines, a lack particularly of the perception of the economic and social realities that lay back of them and consciously or unconsciously inspired them. The air of the cloister is heavy on the work. Often the author takes philosophical manifestoes too literally, too much at their face value, with no hint of psychological analysis. He seems to live in a world that has never heard the ominous word “ideology”, and while possibly we may be hearing too much of it in our times, at least it furnishes an ever-present warning against the scholastic attitude that interprets the record of men’s thoughts in complete detachment from their interests, ambitions, hopes, and fears.

A good illustration of Vaughan’s approach is to be found in his treatment of Hobbes and Burke respectively. Himself a strong ethical idealist and cordially disliking the account of human nature presented in “the odious picture of Hobbes”, Vaughan does him far less than justice. He finds the materialistic philosopher self-contradictory at all points and easily dismisses his system as based on a historically false conception of the “state of nature”. For Vaughan the Hobbesian argument is one of “amazing crudity”, backed by “truculent rhetoric”. No credit is given to the exploring mind, the intellectual vigor, the tradition shaking forthrightness of a remarkable thinker. Burke, on the other hand, is on the side of the angels, and to Vaughan he seems the repository of the deepest wisdom. “It was the dominant tendency of Burke to restore both history and reason to their proper place” (II, 62). He had his inconsistencies, it is true, but they were minor ones, against which his “native strength” and his “inspired gaze” prevailed. Even his most obscurantist utterances, such as the famous statement that “we must throw a veil over the beginnings of all government”, are taken as marks of his greatness. Even his wildest rhetoric, such as the totalitarian nonsense that the state is “a partnership in all science; a partnership in all art; a partnership in every virtue, and in all perfection”, is for Vaughan the expression of the noblest ideals. Vaughan took the literary product with too solemn a brow. One longs for the relief of an occasional salty aside, such

as Catlin's remark about Burke that "his mood, in its faults and in its virtues, was the precise opposite of that of Mr. Henry Ford".

Columbia University

R. M. MACIVER.

The Stuart Papers at Windsor: Being Selections from Hitherto Unprinted Royal Archives. With Introduction and Notes, by ALISTAIR and HENRIETTA TAYLER. Published by the Gracious Permission of His Majesty the King. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1939. Pp. ix, 290. \$3.50.)

THE Stuart Papers belonging to H. M. the King form a collection of no fewer than 541 volumes. The task of printing calendars of this mass of Jacobite papers was begun by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, but the seven volumes which the commission has published contain no material of a later date than December, 1718. Miss Tayler and her brother have now given us a selection from the papers for the period 1718-59.

If the result arouses only a moderate interest, the reason is not far to seek. Miss Tayler (she was so unfortunate as to lose her brother before this work was completed) has a well-deserved reputation as, to use her own term, an "exclusively Jacobite historian", and it is clear that the preparation of this volume has been, for her, a labor of love. The letters which she has chosen to print are those which illustrate "the family life" of the exiled Stuarts "by hitherto unpublished and very human documents", and if they have a central theme at all, it is the relation of the Old Pretender to his sons and, particularly, the long deterioration in his relations with the Young Pretender in the twenty years which followed Culloden. Outside Scotland, however, few historians are interested in Jacobitism for its own sake. To the historian more generally concerned with the period covered by this book, Jacobitism is of interest chiefly insofar as it affected the relations of Great Britain with France, and while the letters selected by Miss Tayler often return to that constant theme of Jacobite correspondence for three quarters of a century, the dependence of Jacobite hopes on French aid, they throw little or no light upon what may be called the diplomatic history of Jacobitism.

Possibly the most valuable part of the book is the introduction, in which Miss Tayler tells in full the remarkable story of how the Stuart Papers came finally to be brought together in the possession of the British crown. She has obviously thoroughly enjoyed being, with her brother, "the last serious historians . . . who were privileged to 'sail the uncharted sea' of the 'Stuart papers', making on the way the most thrilling discoveries", and if, in the process, her sense of humor has occasionally lapsed (see, for example, the note on Fox on page 10), that is, perhaps, the consequence of overlong acquaintance with the letters of an exiled court. As this volume once more shows, those unhappy exiles had little in which to rejoice.

University of Manitoba.

H. N. FIELDHOUSE.

Die Ämterkäuferlichkeit im ancien régime. Von Dr. MARTIN GÖHRING.
[Historische Studien.] (Berlin: Verlag Dr. Emil Ebering. 1938. Pp. 352.
10.35 M.)

It is comforting to note that, despite the rise of Hitlerism, genuine historical research in Germany has not been entirely destroyed. Under the editorial supervision of Dr. Otto Becker at Kiel there has come from the press, since 1932, a series of nine studies on the *ancien régime* and the great revolution in France. The present study, ninth in the series, is an attempt to throw more light than has ever been thrown before upon the tangled forest of officialdom under the *ancien régime* and to reveal the difficulties involved in transforming that forest, at the end of the eighteenth century, into a modern park open to the general public. In the Bibliothèque nationale Dr. Göhring found his sources of light—a vast and heterogeneous literature. He had the choice, he tells us in his preface, between an intensive study of a limited period, like the reign of Louis XIV for instance, and a sweeping survey of five centuries. He chose the latter alternative because he believed a general study would be more useful. Beginning with the period of transition from feudalism to national monarchy, he traces in broad lines the development of the idea of the purchase and sale of offices down to the eighteenth century, when the idea became fixed that deprivation of office entailed the obligation on the part of the king to indemnify the holder for his loss. A similar idea had come to prevail also in regard to privileges. Since a bankrupt government had not the wherewithal to pay indemnities, the road to reform was effectively blocked; the king found himself hedged in by property rights which he could not violate. Dr. Göhring's major contribution has been to make this point clear.

Though abbreviated footnotes indicate the chief sources of information, there is no bibliography. Exigencies of space can hardly be pleaded in extenuation for this omission, for the author devotes fifteen pages to appendixes which, in the reviewer's opinion at least, are of little value. A bibliography, even a select one, critically analyzed and chronologically arranged, would have been of great service to the cause of history by furnishing points of departure for further research. Despite this serious shortcoming, however, Dr. Göhring has produced an excellent book on the *ancien régime* in France.

The University of North Carolina.

MITCHELL B. GARRETT.

Catholics & Unbelievers in Eighteenth Century France. By R. R. PALMER.
(Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1939. Pp. 236. \$4.00.)

HERE at last is a book that deals with the opposition to the *philosophes* in eighteenth century France. So complete was the conquest of public opinion by the *philosophes* that their Catholic opponents suffered not only defeat but oblivion. The best-known of the defenders of orthodoxy, Fréron, is remembered only in the denunciations that Voltaire showered upon him.

Unfortunately for those who were "on the side of the angels" it was the devil who had all the good tunes. Opposed by such masters of style as Voltaire, Rousseau, and Montesquieu, the defenders of religion, none of whom could boast of literary gifts, unavoidably fell into a state of neglect.

Mr. Palmer has bravely essayed to rescue the opponents of the *philosophes* from the oblivion into which they had fallen. He was confronted by two difficult tasks: one was to find them; and the other, and more difficult one, was to show their importance in the intellectual scene. He has accomplished both these tasks with marked success, and his book is therefore an addition to the studies of the period. As a result of his exact scholarship and discriminating judgment, Gauchat, Hardouin, Berruyer, Chandon, Fréron, and the Jesuit editors of the *Journal de Trévoux* have sufficiently emerged from obscurity to be noticed by future students of eighteenth century France.

Naturally the book gives much more attention to the "Catholics" than to the "unbelievers". Considerable space is devoted to the controversy between the Jesuits and the Jansenists, which, Mr. Palmer believes, is an important though neglected phase of French thought. As the conflict passed beyond the two schools of believers to the more acrimonious one between believers and unbelievers, the former were compelled to sharpen their old weapons and to find new ones. One of these new weapons was history, which was now used by the Catholic apologists to support the traditions of the Church against those *philosophes* who used history to undermine them. One Jesuit, Hardouin, became a collector of historical documents. Another, Berruyer, wrote a popular history dealing with Biblical times. Not only history but "nature" was used by the Catholics against the *philosophes*. Mr. Palmer describes sympathetically the Christian interpretations of nature and of natural law which the Catholics stoutly upheld against the empirical interpretations of the *philosophes*.

But the conflict between the Catholics and the unbelievers was, in a sense, unreal. The real opposition to the latter came not from the former but from a new religion whose prophet was Rousseau. What both the Catholics and the unbelievers in the eighteenth century failed to realize was that the birth of a political religion was foreshadowed in the chapter on "Civil Religion" in the *Social Contract*. This new religion was to cause the spirit of fanaticism to migrate from the body theological to the body political. It proclaimed political "mysteries", the *contrat social* and the *volonté générale*, that were destined to find fanatical devotees during the French Revolution.

J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO.

The City College, New York.

Turgot and the "Ancien Régime" in France. By DOUGLAS DAKIN, Lecturer in History, Birkbeck College, University of London. (London: Methuen and Company. 1939. Pp. xi, 361. 15s.)

THIS addition to the already long list of books about Turgot is justified by the author's purpose. Utilizing Gustav Schelle's definitive collection of Turgot's writings and the significant additions made possible by the publication of Veri's journal, Mr. Dakin undertakes to present Turgot not only as a remarkable individual but as himself a part of the *ancien régime*. Unfortunately it may be doubted, in spite of the "great output" of literature of which Mr. Dakin speaks, whether the time is even yet opportune for a general picture of Turgot's times. Too many unknowns remain even for so well-read a person as the author of this work. Nevertheless, the portion, substantially new, which he devotes to Turgot's experience as intendant in Limoges (chs. II-VII) constitutes an excellent monographic contribution in itself, full of sense and of valuable additions to our knowledge. In these chapters Turgot is presented as a hardworking, intelligent, and clever representative of the great administrative service that had grown up around the crown. It is regrettable that Turgot does not appear more clearly as one of a group, perhaps the best but not the only hardworking, intelligent, and clever one of the "forty tyrants"—still more, as one not merely among the forty but among the two or three hundred generally high-grade men who constituted the second rank and the most permanent element of the system. What were, for example, the measures that other intendants were taking to rationalize the *corvée*? Mr. Dakin does not tell us.

One of the best things that Mr. Dakin does is to describe the old system of France (especially as it applied to the Limousin) in twentieth century terms. He says, excellently, that in spite of differences in form it did not differ very much from government in England. At this point, however, like his predecessors, he misses the ideological form that the monarchy was striving toward and that found occasional expression in the words of men like Praslin, Joly de Fleury, and Tolozan. The basic doctrine was simple: no localistic or personal intrusions into national solutions. It is not difficult to show that the monarchy, like some other political systems, fell short of and even betrayed its ideal. But the ideal itself must be understood in order to understand the old regime—and Turgot.

The account of Turgot as minister of state (chs. IX-XVI) avowedly makes no new contribution to the story as already told. To a student of the activities of the commercial and financial groups in this period it remains something of a puzzle that a controller general of the kingdom of France had so little concern with their problems. The organized businessmen of the chambers of commerce did not like him, avoided him, and were glad to see him go. The congress or convention of deputies extraordinary which Sartine got together in the winter of 1774-75 was maneuvered to outstay Turgot. Even

what little was done by Turgot in this field has not been effectively investigated by Mr. Dakin. When, "in collaboration with Sartine, he was issuing new regulations for the *Compagnie des Indes*", these were either for the liquidation of the old company or, more important, for the new one that was being projected. A little wider consultation of the Foreign Office papers would have shown traces of an interesting scheme to link the India business of France and England in a single rationalized whole. The founding of the Caisse d'escompte is mentioned, but the real founder, Panchaud of Geneva, of whom Robert Bigo has told such interesting things in his book about the *caisse*, is not. The Guines affair, of which Mr. Dakin gives one of the best accounts in print, has so many ramifications that it is doubtful if anyone could get them all in one story, but it falls in with other omissions of Mr. Dakin that he does not hint at the repercussions of the affair among the bankers of London and Paris.

The old charge against Turgot of political ineptness is re-examined by Mr. Dakin, who is inclined to reject it. It is hard, however, to clear Turgot of the major political error of contributing to the organization of the opposition. Necker was not remarkable as a politician, but even he, as Mr. Dakin fails to recognize, was able to effect the essential object of the antigild legislation, the legitimation of free industry, by his *système intermédiaire*.

Mr. Dakin does not attempt to make much of Turgot as an economist. Nevertheless, it is to be regretted that one of Turgot's wisest utterances, to the effect that to understand economics it is necessary to forget political boundaries, was omitted from the record.

University of Minnesota.

FREDERICK L. NUSSBAUM.

Edmund Burke: A Life. By Sir PHILIP MAGNUS. (London: John Murray. 1939. Pp. xiii, 367. 15s.)

THIS is the first full-length biography of Burke to benefit by unhampered access to the statesman's private papers. Divided between the two seats of the Fitzwilliam family, Wentworth Woodhouse and Milton, these papers were published in part in the familiar four-volume *Correspondence of Burke* in 1844; but limitations of space and Victorian decorum conspired to suppress many valuable letters, while Burke's youthful notebooks, personal memoranda, and drafts of speeches were entirely ignored. Access to the papers was denied until 1937, when the present reviewer was granted permission to read and publish. Since then the collection has been seen by Mr. H. V. F. Somerset of Oxford, who is now publishing some valuable articles on Burke in the *English Historical Review*, and by the author of the present biography.

Material found in the private papers is not likely to effect any drastic revision in the accepted estimate of Burke, although it does throw more searching light upon the statesman's intimate circle at Beaconsfield, long

known to have been a millstone about his neck. It shows with fresh clarity the strong *esprit de corps* of the Burkes and also the gullibility of Edmund, who was never able to believe that any friend or relative could be a rogue. In this biography Sir Philip Magnus agrees in the main with the conclusions reached by the present reviewer in an earlier study of Burke's finances—that the evidence fails to convict Burke himself of any palpable chicanery, although it does impeach his common sense and knowledge of human nature. Upon several important points, however, Sir Philip's mind appears to be not wholly made up. As a single example, in regard to the old assertion (made in *The Dictionary of National Biography* and *The Cambridge Shorter History of India*) that Edmund Burke gambled in East India stock and presumably lied when in 1772 he denied ever having held such stock, Sir Philip declares that the "evidence" shows him to have been a stockholder (p. 42); but in the footnote which should back up this assertion he cites a passage from a monograph by the present reviewer proving from India Office records that William, not Edmund, was the owner of the stock in question and that the statesman therefore stands exonerated of falsehood.

Sir Philip's analysis of Burke's weaknesses—his political ineptitude, his sublime impracticality, his occasional parliamentary lapses from good taste and even decency—is generally just and makes his book more realistic than the biographies of stale eulogy by Newman and Murray a decade ago. His attempt to do justice to Burke's fine intellect and political wisdom saves him from the ways of excessive debunkery, although one feels that he is a little too susceptible to the lure of sensationalism to the neglect of more vital and factual matters. His assertion that "invincible aristocratic prejudice" had almost nothing to do with Burke's failure to secure high office (p. 56) is an important reversal of the usual judgment and unfortunately is left to stand without proof. Significant names and episodes in Burke's career—such as his relations with Benjamin Franklin, the fine series of letters to Champion on the American Revolution which remain unpublished, the statesman's long friendship with O'Hara which bore fruit in a mass of unpublished Burke letters at Wentworth on Irish affairs, Burke's prospective duel with Wedderburn and the feud which lay behind it, and the letters Burke wrote to Catholic friends and ecclesiastics in the 1790's advocating "much more distinctly & avowed political connections with the Court of Rome"—are not mentioned, to the neglect of valuable material among the private papers.

The general reader will learn much from this book, but historians should accept specific details with caution. It exhibits both the virtues and the flaws of amateur scholarship—a fresh and lively point of view, marred by carelessness in dealing with sources. References to manuscripts without the correspondent's name, the date, or other identifying labels are too vague for exact scholarship; the bibliography lacks alphabetical or topical arrange-

ment, Christian names or initials of authors, place and date of publication. One also finds such evidences of haste and contradiction as the writer's statement that Lady Fermanagh was the daughter of Burke's patron Lord Verney (p. 52), although on page 232 he quotes from the Burke papers correctly identifying her as "his niece and heir".

The Huntington Library.

DIXON WECTER.

Theobald Wolfe Tone: A Biographical Study. By FRANK MACDERMOT. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1939. Pp. xv, 342. \$3.50.)

ALMOST from the day of his death from a wound self-inflicted to forestall hanging for treason, Wolfe Tone has stood high in the ranks of Irish martyrs. Now martyrs rarely get written about objectively, and Tone has been no exception. His name has been one of the mainstays of Irish oratory, but for biography there was little more than the pious *Life* which his son wove into his father's incompleted autobiography and published in Washington in 1826. Mr. MacDermot has remedied this lack with an admirably balanced, well-documented biographical study which is also a valuable addition to our knowledge of Ireland in the 1790's. He has used the Tone Papers now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, and has supplemented from various archives our meager knowledge of Tone's early career. He publishes large extracts from Tone's diary, of which two, one on the Bantry Bay expedition and the other on Tone's stay with the army of Sambre et Meuse and with the Dutch fleet in 1797, are most interesting to the historian. Mr. MacDermot writes well, though his great familiarity with Irish history of the period tempts him to introduce names and details without enough explanation for the uninitiated reader. He is scrupulously fair to Tone and to Tone's enemies. He shows that the facts of Tone's career do not square with the well-constructed myth which has been so useful for Irish politicians. Tone was an opportunist, who, if he never actually went over to the Castle, managed at some time or other to deal with almost every other group in Irish politics. He was true to another Irish tradition, as witness the following passage: "I have now seen the Parliament of Ireland, the Parliament of England, the Congress of the United States, the Corps Legislatif of France, and the Convention Batave . . . and, of all those I have mentioned, beyond all comparison the most shamelessly profligate and abandoned by all sense of virtue, principle, or even common decency, was the legislature of my own unfortunate country: the scoundrels, I lose my temper every time I think of them."

Yet Mr. MacDermot's verdict on Tone is on the whole favorable. He regards his early death as a loss for Ireland, though he doubts the wisdom of the appeal to revolutionary France. Tone's "convenient moral and intellectual obtuseness" he thinks no more than the necessary quantum for actual politics. Not that Mr. MacDermot is writing merely another Irish political

tract. For most of the book he is the careful historian and biographer, anxious above all to winnow fact from legend. Yet he also knows that historians do make judgments, and in his introduction and in the last five pages of the chapter headed "Catastrophe" he frankly tries to draw from Tone's career a lesson for contemporary Ireland. That lesson is that the relations between Ireland and England must depend on what relations are established among Irishmen in Ireland, that domestic co-operation must be attained before anything final can be done about the place of Ireland in—or out of—the British Commonwealth of Nations. Tone was no dogmatic idealist, and contemporary dogmatic idealists in Ireland who exploit his legend are doing Ireland a disservice. It should be clear from the foregoing that Mr. MacDermot's book has interest not merely for the student of eighteenth century Ireland but also for the student of twentieth century Eire.

Harvard University.

CRANE BRINTON.

The Armies of the First French Republic and the Rise of the Marshals of Napoleon I. By the Late Colonel RAMSAY WESTON PHIPPS, Formerly of the Royal Artillery. Volume V, *The Armies on the Rhine, in Switzerland, Holland, Italy, Egypt, and the Coup d'état of Brumaire: 1797 to 1799.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1939. Pp. x, 479. \$7.00.)

BOTH this and the preceding volume of Colonel Phipps's great work have appeared posthumously. That they have appeared at all is the result of the skillful and devoted labor of his granddaughter, Elizabeth Sandars, who took his manuscripts and notes and whipped them into shape for publication. As she remarks in the preface, this task, difficult at best, has proved peculiarly perplexing in the preparation of the present volume. She has clung steadfastly to her grandfather's original purpose, to present the history of the wars of the French Revolution as a school for the development of Napoleon's marshals. But this plan presents unusual difficulty when dealing with the last years of the Directory, for the future marshals move in and out of the various campaigns in such bewildering succession that it is almost impossible to follow their fortunes methodically and still maintain a coherent picture of the campaigns themselves. That the dilemma has not been solved and that the final impression is rather confusing in spots is the consequence of the original scheme rather than of any ineptitude upon the part of the editor.

Now that this series has been carried to the end of the Directory, one wonders whether the experiment has proved a fruitful one. Colonel Phipps intended to point out how each of the future marshals was influenced by the events and conditions of the campaigns in which he participated. It was to be, in modern psychological terms, a study of the fashion in which the marshals were conditioned by their separate experiences. But one cannot feel altogether convinced that the author has succeeded in his purpose. He has

told the story of the campaigns in great detail, and he has searched rigorously to discover the part played at each step by the future marshals. But in doing this, even where he is not troubled by lack of sure evidence as to the location and action of his characters, he is forced to maneuver them on and off the stage so rapidly that the story suffers both as coherent narrative and military analysis. At the same time the history of each man is so repeatedly interrupted by the necessity of not neglecting others that it is nearly impossible to maintain the sense of the continuity of individual experience which is necessary if we are to understand how far particular conditions and events shaped an officer's professional growth. We get the sense of a succession of mob scenes in which we recognize various individuals as they drift in and out rather than the sense of the impression made upon the minds of particular individuals as different scenes of action came within their ken. One comes out of it all with a dramatic sense of the Empire in the making, an arbitrary emphasis the author was willing to accept, but without, in the majority of cases, as clear a picture of the soldierly development of the future marshals as he had hoped to be able to present.

But this is not to deny the scholarship and sound merit of Colonel Phipps's work. It is filled with penetrating analysis and good military common sense. If he doesn't altogether achieve his original purpose, it is probably because the task he set himself was impossible of fulfillment upon the scale that he planned it. Although the last two volumes have undoubtedly lost something from the fact that they have been put together by another hand than that which originally designed them, the difference is not important. The really remarkable thing is that the editor, faced with one of the most difficult tasks of historical organization that could be imagined, has succeeded in retaining so much of the spirit and merit of the earlier volumes. It is worth noting that she informs us that her grandfather left materials for carrying the history of the marshals on into the years of the Consulate and Empire but that she has not yet made up her mind just how to use them.

Swarthmore College.

TROYER S. ANDERSON.

Public Schools and British Opinion, 1780-1860: The Relationship between Contemporary Ideas and the Evolution of an English Institution. By EDWARD C. MACK. [Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. Pp. xvi, 432. \$3.75.)

THE intensive study of the growth of any single institution is valuable not only to specialists in that particular field but to other historians. Both educationists and students of British history must be grateful to Mr. Mack for this documented investigation of seven great English public schools: Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Shrewsbury, Westminster, Winchester, and Charterhouse. Not only has he traced their internal history, but he has shown its

connection with the social, intellectual, economic, and religious movements of the day—even though, as he admits, his evidence can be assessed only qualitatively and not quantitatively.

The very fact that Mr. Mack was obliged to select only seven schools is unfortunate in that it tends to obscure the close relation between them and the less-known grammar schools. There is little to choose between the aims of the founder of Winchester in 1382 and those of the founder of Wotton-under-Edge Grammar School in 1384. Henry VI in his grant to Eton, dated June 3, 1446, designated the new foundation “the lady mother and mistress of all other grammar schools”. This concentration on the great schools seems to overemphasize class distinctions in England through a period when the gradations were almost imperceptible.

On the other hand Mr. Mack has carried out the task he has assigned himself with balanced judgment. After reading the evidence on both sides no one can doubt that the English public schools, in his first period up to 1830, had fallen into decay. The concentration on the classics, a legacy from the Renaissance, had lost its educational value under changed external conditions and with an inferior teaching staff. The moral and religious instruction was pitiful, the social life beneath contempt. And yet no one would stigmatize England in the first half of the nineteenth century as politically, economically, or intellectually decadent. Is it possible that educationists have exaggerated the influence they exert in the formation of young minds?

The great reforms of the English public school system from 1830 to 1860 are treated with similar judicial fairness. It may be that the advent of railways, which the author does not mention, as well as the improvement in the schools, which he stresses, contributed largely to their increased popularity. The retention of the classics in the curriculum was probably due largely to university requirements. Even today a very large proportion of the open scholarships at Oxford and Cambridge are awarded for proficiency in Latin and Greek.

The author pays generous tribute to the moral quality of the output of the seven schools and their rivals after the reforms inaugurated by Arnold and others. He fails perhaps to realize how many of their pupils were destined to become country gentlemen with estates to manage. (For them the holidays were a time of unconscious vocational instruction.) He looks on the schools rather as nurseries for imperial administrators. He attacks the British Empire in unmeasured terms. (His reference to “oil-wells spouting almost literally from the bones of dead missionaries” is geographically unfortunate.) Yet he realizes that British administrators were inspired by a higher ideal than “a cold-blooded exploitation of subject peoples for the enrichment of a few capitalists”. Where perhaps he is a little unfair is in suggesting that this “idealistic and passionately sincere love of the Empire” was “the last of England’s romantic faiths”. Anyone who knows the work

of school missions, or indeed of the junior branches of the League of Nations Union, will realize that young England today is not deaf to the calls of the persecuted and oppressed either in its own Empire or beyond it.

Mr. Mack's second volume, bringing his researches up to the present day, should be even more interesting than his first.

New York City.

G. T. HANKIN.

George III and William Pitt, 1783-1806: A New Interpretation based upon a Study of their Unpublished Correspondence. By DONALD GROVE BARNES, Professor of History, Western Reserve University. (Stanford University: Stanford University Press. 1939. Pp. xiii, 512. \$5.00.)

The Whig Party, 1807-1812. By MICHAEL ROBERTS, Professor of History in the Rhodes University College, Grahamstown. [Studies in Modern History, General Editor, L. B. Namier.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1939. Pp. viii, 453. \$8.00.)

PROFESSOR BARNES maintains the thesis that George III and not William Pitt triumphed at Pitt's accession to office in 1783 and throughout that statesman's administration, that the constitutional position of George III remained unchanged between 1760 and 1806, and that the picture of Pitt as a modern party leader and modern prime minister is a false one. Quotations in an appendix from a large number of historians and biographers tend to exaggerate the novelty of this view. For while it is true that the political historians since the appearance of Macaulay's essays in the middle of the last century have fostered the idea of George III's defeat at the hands of Pitt as an adjunct to the Whig picture of his earlier "unconstitutional" attempts at "personal" rule, the constitutional historians have often been closer to Professor Barnes's own interpretation.

The present reviewer believes that the main conclusions of this volume are correct and that the book presents an exhaustive marshaling of whatever evidence on these questions is presented in the letters exchanged between Pitt and the king. These letters are not large in number, however, and those which are preserved at Windsor are the only source not hitherto well explored of which Professor Barnes has made use. The result is that he devotes much space to treading familiar ground in a familiar way and that the book is disappointing.

In spite of appreciative references to the work of Professor Namier, the author imperfectly understands the workings of the house of commons. He refers to the analysis of the house in 1788 in the Pretyman papers which lists 185 members who will "probably support His Majesty's government". He then labels these the "King's janissaries" and proceeds to reason as if this large body of men represented a personal following which the king could order about at will. This is not just a minor slip, because this old idea of the existence of a large group of "King's Friends" is in the back of his

mind all the time and conditions much of his thinking. The truth is that there existed in all parliaments of the time a substantial group who would in the main, though not inevitably, support any administration already well established in power. This slow-moving body, buttressed by the notion that support of the administration was after all the respectable course and any "formed opposition" the height of political wickedness, and many members of it united by ties of office and of social connection with the whole system centering in the court, may be said to have been an institutional part of the parliamentary system, but it was quite different from a personally led faction. Professor Barnes has also accepted other old Whig legends about the earlier days of the reign quite uncritically.

Little consideration is given to the important question of the relations between Pitt and other members of his cabinet or to that of the relations between the king and his other ministers, though there is interesting evidence on this last point in the Windsor letters. During this period new developments in the relations between the prime minister and other ministers, while they do not invalidate the main conclusions of the book, were of great significance for the future of the constitutional position of king and minister, as were important changes in the organization of the administrative departments which are not mentioned.

These institutions of commons and cabinet functioned within a political atmosphere reflected in vast quantities of periodical and pamphlet literature which the author gives no sign of having explored. The temper of public opinion, the pressure of groups within and without parliament, the purposes of ministers and their associates in regard to economic matters and commercial groups, are all factors appearing, if at all, only in nebulous distance in this book and never springing into life. Yet these things made up the day-to-day situation with which both king and minister were confronted. The outcome of any particular disagreement between the two was probably more often the result of a complex of circumstance than of the superior generalship or "tactical" victories which Professor Barnes is fond of attributing to George III. The reason why all these considerations are necessary to the working out of the problem which the author has set for himself is that without a firm grasp of them the conflict between king and minister becomes distorted, the significance of its personal aspects is exaggerated, and the whole situation is oversimplified. A wider outlook, which often results only from the possession of a vast amount of detailed information, would perhaps have shifted Mr. Barnes's interest away from assessing blame, chronicling "years of lost opportunity", and in general putting "ifs" into history. In short his study lacks the vigor, reality, and conviction which a more concrete presentation, based upon a more intensive examination of evidence from a wide variety of sources, would have given it.

Professor Roberts's study of the Whig party in the six years following the

year of Pitt's death continues in point of time from the period of Professor Barnes's work. While during these years the Whigs on four occasions appeared to have an excellent chance of gaining office, they did not do so. They twice refused it and were twice disappointed by the prince regent, that former patron of the Whigs. The book attempts to make the confusing course of party politics of these years intelligible. It succeeds admirably and in doing so sheds light on the workings of the political system in years preceding and following these. Some monographs on party politics have analyzed large quantities of correspondence of politicians to trace the course of ministerial intrigues, some have analyzed from widely scattered sources the changing groups within the house of commons, others have attempted to steer a way through the mazes of public opinion as reflected in the press. Professor Roberts has succeeded in doing all these things for the years covered and has so correlated all this material that a coherent picture results. The book must be carefully read by all students of modern English political or constitutional history.

Cambridge, Massachusetts.

GERDA R. CROSBY.

Bismarck's Reichsgründung im Urteil englischer Diplomaten. Von VEIT VALENTIN. (Amsterdam: "Elsevier"; New York: Nordemann Publishing Company. 1937. Pp. xvi, 557. \$8.00.)

THE present volume grew out of Professor Valentin's studies of the German Revolution of 1848-49, for which he had used the reports of Lord Cowley, British minister at Frankfort. From this it was a short step to the plan of using the rich store of unpublished reports in the foreign office papers at the Public Record Office for a history of Anglo-German diplomacy in the period of the making of the empire, 1848-71. Thirty-five hitherto unprinted documents are given in full in the appendix. It goes without saying that Professor Valentin is familiar with the published works on his subject. Of special interest in the new material are the many confidential conversations with German princes and statesmen, and above all with Bismarck, which were reported by the British envoys but not included in the blue books.

Most of the points on which I would disagree with Professor Valentin's statements are, like the occasional slips in statements of fact and misprints, of slight significance. On the whole, he is objective and well balanced in his appraisal of British and German statesmen and their respective policies. It is more difficult for him to be fair to Napoleon III, and a few charges of duplicity are applied to French actions of a type that is accepted in the diplomacy of Bismarck.

The narrative is followed by a summary appraisal of the relations of Germany and England as a cultural as well as a diplomatic problem and by the formulation of seven theorems or principles of the mutual attraction

and repulsion of great powers. "These conclusions offer at least this comfort, that there are no eternal enmities in foreign politics, that the relations between great peoples are flexible, and that it often happens that a stand-up and knock-down fight is the necessary prerequisite to an honorable understanding and reconciliation. The future will tell us whether the World War was destined to play this part in the relations of Germany and England." Since these words were written at the end of Professor Valentin's last paragraph, the relations of the two powers have passed from "peace in our time" to a struggle that bids fair to exceed the war of 1914-18 in intensity and bitterness. The future has given its answer, and that answer was foreshadowed by the past. Valentin's book covers fewer years and is more limited in scope than Sontag's *Germany and England: Background of Conflict, 1848-1894*, but it suggests the same conclusions.

The University of Minnesota.

LAWRENCE D. STEEFEL.

The Exploitation of East Africa, 1856-1890: The Slave Trade and the Scramble. By R. COUPLAND, Fellow of All Souls' College, Beit Professor of Colonial History in the University of Oxford. (London: Faber and Faber. 1939. Pp. ix, 507. 25s.)

IF historians ever decide to partition Africa for purposes of historical exploitation, they will find East Africa already occupied—by Professor Coupland. This volume is his third study of that part of Africa and well merits the grateful recognition of the historian. He began his studies with an understandable desire to write a book on the life and work of Sir John Kirk, a man who served England faithfully and intelligently at Zanzibar but scrupulously refused to take advantage of the sultan of Zanzibar at times when, by so doing, he could have added all of East Africa to the British Empire.

Professor Coupland's first work in this field was *Kirk on the Zambesi* (Oxford, 1928), a book concerned primarily with Kirk's early experiences in Africa as a member of Livingstone's Zambesi expedition, 1858-63. To prepare himself for his study of Kirk's later career, Professor Coupland acquainted himself with the earlier history of East Africa. The result of this preliminary research was *East Africa and its Invaders* (Oxford, 1938), an excellent and indispensable account of East African history from earliest times to 1856. His latest book begins at this point and is, in very large part, an account of Kirk's activities as Britain's representative in Zanzibar. Private papers belonging to the Kirk family, the Waller Papers, and hitherto unused documents of the British foreign office give this volume its great significance. One wishes that material from the German archives also could have been used so that we could have the complete picture of what went on in East Africa in the late eighties, when partitioning treaties were concluded.

Professor Coupland does not fully appreciate the fact that this study straddles two significant eras in imperialism. The earlier one is the period

of mid-Victorian anti-imperialism, when many Englishmen relied on laissez-faire principles to supply England with needed goods, when political control of overseas territories was not thought necessary for that purpose. Not having to worry, therefore, about political control for commercial ends, Englishmen could and did concern themselves with other and different problems, such as the suppression of the Arab slave trade in East Africa. Professor Coupland seems particularly anxious to have his readers believe that England's East African policy was dominantly concerned with the suppression of this brutal traffic in human beings, although he is curiously quick to question the sincerity of other nations that used the same claim to justify their presence and activity in the same region. Kirk seems to have been an excellent overseas representative of this prevailing mood in England; it may be presumed that this is the explanation of his failure to exploit his influential position as intimate adviser of Sultan Barghash of Zanzibar for the sake of extending British imperial control over the wide but undefined regions of the African mainland that came under the sultan's suzerainty.

When England had no serious rivals for the markets and raw materials of the world, it was possible for her to pursue these humanitarian policies in Africa and to rely on men like Kirk to carry them out. In the eighties this situation changed, and England discovered that she had powerful competitors: Belgium, France, and Germany now became interested in Africa. Scrupulous men like Kirk had little in common with the kind of competitive world produced by this changing condition; less scrupulous men appeared on the scene, such as Mackinnon, Leopold II, and Carl Peters, to whom commercial and political control of distant regions was all important. And so an old age vanished and gave way to a new and different one. Somewhat unconsciously Professor Coupland has given us this story of change in his superb study of East Africa.

Yale University.

HARRY R. RUDIN.

History of the London County Council, 1889-1939. By Sir GWILYM GIBBON and REGINALD W. BELL, Barrister-at-Law. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1939. Pp. xxi, 696. \$7.00.)

THE fiftieth anniversary of the London County Council, celebrated last year, was the occasion of the publication of several studies of its history and work, some by the council, others by independent investigators. This volume by Gibbon and Bell was "written at the instance of" the council, "but it is in no sense an official history". The authors concede that they have felt less free to comment than if theirs had been a "wholly private venture". This accounts for the predominantly factual nature of the work. It is analytical and objective.

Long as the book is, it is little more than an outline, so vast is the subject. Many chapters would need to be greatly extended to satisfy the reader's

interest, stirred by the present volume, in this "experiment in the government of a huge urban agglomeration", which is "one of the most instructive examples of development in local government during the last half-century". The eighty-page account of the morass of London government in the pre-council period and the struggles of municipal reformers is a model of condensation, yet the reform movement alone is worth a book.

The London County Council was superimposed upon local government bodies to the number of 132 (not counting "a host" of special authorities) in an area which has never been enlarged and which today comprises only one sixth of Greater London. In 1899 many of these bodies were eliminated with the creation of twenty-eight metropolitan borough councils. Other revisions occurred in the twentieth century, mainly in the direction of extending the council's powers, but today its authority within its area is limited by that of the borough councils, the City corporation, several other county councils, and various *ad hoc* bodies, such as the Metropolitan Water Board, the London Passenger Transport Board, the Metropolitan Police Commissioners, the Electricity Authority, and the Port of London Authority. London, unlike most other English cities, has no municipalized public utilities. In a chapter on "External Relations" Gibbon and Bell indicate the inefficiency of such division of power within the County of London and the still greater confusion in Greater London; they suggest the obstacles in the way of reform—vested interests, local pride, jealousy. A much more probing study of the existing chaos of London government is *The Government and Misgovernment of London* by William A. Robson, also published last year (George Allen and Unwin).

The London County Council has made the best of its position. It has displayed diplomatic skill in its relations with other local authorities; it has regularly met with distrust and obstruction from parliament yet has won many of its battles. Its functions have of necessity been extended. In 1904 it took over education with larger powers than the School Board had had; in 1891 and again in 1930 its supervision over public health was extended; in 1930 poor relief came into its hands; its power with regard to housing has grown steadily since 1890. In all these spheres the record of the council is excellent. So also would appear to be its record in finance and the detailed organization of its work. The account in this volume is of absorbing interest. The reader is moved to accept the authors' final verdict: "an impartial judgement, strict in its standards, will accord to the London County Council one of the highest places in the modern history of local government".

The political side of the council's history has a chapter to itself and frequently recurs: parties in the council and their relation to national parties, elections, lobbying. It is in this connection that the only departure from strict objectivity on the part of the authors can be discovered. They cast repeated slurs upon the early Progressives. The party made mistakes, but

its vigor and idealism set a high standard of public service. Lethargy at the beginning would have been disastrous.

University of Chicago.

FRANCES E. GILLESPIE.

The Diplomacy of the Balkan Wars, 1912-1913. By ERNST CHRISTIAN HELMREICH, Bowdoin College. [Harvard Historical Studies.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1938. Pp. xiv, 523. \$5.00.)

THIS book is a model of meticulous scholarship along generally approved lines of diplomatic research, and the list of personal contacts given by the author at the beginning of his very full and excellent bibliography proves his scrupulous anxiety to check printed sources by personal impressions of as many as possible of the actors. Nonetheless, he does not escape from the tendency, so noticeable in other no less admirable monographs of this type, to accept diplomatic documents at their face value, without considering the possibility of their facts and their theories being often almost equally erroneous. Incidentally, his book may be regarded as a nemesis upon the Belgrade government for its unenlightened policy in withholding the Serbian diplomatic documents of the period 1903-18 and leaving a free field to its enemies, for the inevitable result is that the student is left dependent either upon the Austro-Hungarian collection of documents or upon the arbitrary selections of Milan Bogičević, an exile whose vindictive desire to discredit the dynasty of Kara George threw all motives of impartiality or criticism into the shade. (He was the first to print certain important documents, but his books are full of unproved and grossly scurrilous statements.) Undue reliance on these collections, on the Berlin propagandist organ *Die Kriegsschuldfrage* (which, before its reconstitution as the *Berliner Monatshefte*, was engaged in a campaign to saddle Serbia and Russia with the responsibility for the World War), and on such uncritical writers as Lončarević and Miss Durham leads to somewhat dubious conclusions.

There is an introductory chapter on Serbo-Bulgarian relations from the Serbo-Bulgarian treaty of 1904 (which the author ascribes to the eclipse of Russian influence in Eastern Europe after the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War) down to 1912, but the full narrative begins only with the secret alliance of March, 1912, and the domestic background in Serbia and Bulgaria is not provided. There is a somewhat perfunctory but accurate account of the Internal Organization, but that of the Serbian Black Hand is misleading on many points. It is a mistake to describe the Narodna Odbrana as "a first-class revolutionary organization"; it is only necessary to contrast it with the Macedonian societies, and indeed it was just because of its mildly cultural program (certainly inimical to Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia) that some of the wilder spirits founded the Black Hand, and this was in 1911, not 1908. No proof that Crown Prince Alexander was a member has ever been produced, and it is certainly not true that "they were in

close touch with the most important men of the Government" (p. 42), or that "the Black Hand aroused an intense patriotic spirit in the population and especially in the army" (p. 45), for it was a small nest of conspirators of whom only a very few were aware. Still more inaccurate is it to assert that "in 1912 the Black Hand exercised no such influence as in 1914" (p. 47). The very opposite is true, because during the Balkan War the regicides were reinstated, and one of their ringleaders was "Apis", the real *spiritus movens* of the terrorist Black Hand. By the early spring of 1914 there was acute friction between the Black Hand (Apis having entrenched himself in the general staff) and the heads of the government, in particular Pašić and his masterful minister of the interior, Stojan Protić.

A most valuable account is given of the way in which the Balkan League came into being. The superior character of Sir Henry Bax-Ironside's information, as compared with that of all the other ministers in Sofia, is clearly brought out. On the other hand the mysterious Cetinje bomb affair is treated very cursorily, and no evidence is adduced for the view that "there was more truth in Nastić's accounts than was formerly supposed" (p. 82). Nothing can free Nastić from the labels of police spy and *agent provocateur*. To say that "there never were any evidences of superfluous wealth in Cetinje" is to apply foreign standards: the king's wealth was out of all proportion to that of any of his subjects and was derived from systematic exploitation. On two much more serious points there is a lack of perspective: the death of Milovanović in July, 1912, which is dismissed in a footnote, was really an event of capital importance, depriving Serbia of one of her most brilliant and most European statesmen at the age of fifty and leaving her in the hands of Nicholas Pašić, an astute party manager with superb tactical instincts but with no foreign policy save to "wait and see" and meanwhile to rely upon Holy Russia. Again, the interactions of the Tripolitan War and Italian policy upon the general Balkan situation are treated much too cursorily, considering their decisive influence in setting the European ball rolling.

Dr. Helmreich gives a very fair and admirably balanced estimate of the Russian attitude towards the Balkan War, showing how Sazonov connived in the activities of the budding league but shrank back and showed timidity when it got into motion. He brings out Grey's relief at Sazonov's moderation in the crisis and his genuine devotion to peace, and he hits the nail when arguing that the European Concert aimed "at avoiding a European War, not at avoiding a Balkan War" (p. 132)—thus greatly increasing the chances of a major conflict later on. He is very explicit about the "forward" policy of such Russian diplomats as Hartwig and Nekludov as compared with the much more conservative attitude of the high bureaucracy in St. Petersburg, but he probably rather predates Hartwig's great influence at Belgrade (p. 27).

The chapter on Austria-Hungary's Balkan policy is much more open to

criticism. To say that the Ballplatz never, "since at least 1908", wanted to expand *au delà de Mitrovica* is entirely misleading, for it ignores not only the motives of Aehrenthal's Sanjak Railway project of 1906 but, above all, the consistent attitude of the general staff and General Conrad, who continued to preach the view that the true strategic line of advance lay up the valley of the Morava and therefore through the heart of the Serbian kingdom. These views were shared by several subordinate but very influential members of the Ballplatz itself and were bequeathed by Aehrenthal to Berchtold, whom Dr. Helmreich calls "industrious and capable" (p. 178). Surely Berchtold's belief that a Serbian port "would mean a Russian port on the Adriatic" is an example of fatuity, and many others could be quoted. It has usually been assumed that all the powers, and Austria-Hungary among them, wrongly calculated that the Balkan allies would be defeated. Dr. Helmreich (pp. 186-92) makes out a good case for the view that Berchtold did not reckon with a Turkish victory, but this only makes his general policy all the more inexplicable. Serbian policy is open to much criticism, but it is hard to see how Vienna's determination that Serbia should not reach the Adriatic can be described as "very moderate" (p. 208). "Liberals such as Masaryk, Kramář and Baernreither", it is added, "were heart and soul for granting Serbia a port", and the reader might infer that they were all of the same oppositional kidney, whereas Baernreither was the leader of the German Bohemian ultra-conservative big landowners, with little in common with the two Czechs. But he understood the Balkans and Austria's true interests, and it is much to be regretted that Dr. Helmreich has not made fuller use of his *Fragments of a Political Diary*, which remains on record as a proof that there was true statesmanship available in Vienna, though it was not employed. Moreover, the account of the notorious Prochaska affair has been very much watered down (pp. 214, 227): in reality there can today be no possible doubt that the story of his emasculation by Serbian officers was deliberately fabricated at the Ballplatz and the true facts then withheld for several weeks in order to inflame public opinion against Serbia. Pašić's admission of "small irregularities" on the part of the Serbian military authorities (quoted on p. 229) does not entitle Dr. Helmreich to say that "there can be no doubt" that "they were in the wrong" on the major issue. Berchtold used the incident when he was preparing for war but dropped it when he found that his two allies did not favor the idea. In 1914 the late Count Francis Lützow told me that Prochaska himself had openly admitted to him that the whole story was a fake and joked about it, and confirmation may be found in the book of Baron Szillasy, who was in the Ballplatz at the time.

There is on page 226 a very unconvincing attempt to justify Berchtold's refusal to accept Pašić's offer to negotiate, brought to him by Professor Masaryk. Dr. Helmreich evidently does not know the notorious story of how

the lordly Berchtold treated Masaryk as wanting to make some money out of his Belgrade mission, which was not undertaken "at the instigation of the *Neue Freie Presse*" (which was always most hostile to Masaryk) but followed logically from Masaryk's own initiative in the Zagreb and Friedjung trials a few years earlier. This whole incident is a crowning proof that Berchtold was both *borné* and incompetent. But even without it Dr. Helmreich's own very careful analysis of Berchtold's treatment of Bulgaro-Rumanian relations leaves a very mediocre impression of the foreign minister, even though Berchtold is acquitted—very doubtfully—of any share in prompting Bulgaria's attack upon Serbia in 1913 (p. 367). It is difficult to detect any grounds for calling Berchtold's policy "a bold and difficult one" (p. 377). It is surely misleading to suggest that neither German nor Italian influence restrained Austria from attacking Serbia (p. 378), and certainly too little importance is attached to the share of Count Tisza's speech in June, 1913, in provoking the conflict. It may also be doubted whether full justice has been done to Grey's moderating influence during the long London negotiations.

Final judgment must be reserved until the Serbian documents—already in print, awaiting publication, before the assassination of King Alexander—are allowed to see the light and can be microscopically compared with the Austrian and German collections in particular. But meanwhile there is no book on the subject so thorough, so learned, and so detailed as the present volume.

University of London.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

FAR EASTERN HISTORY

Some Influences that have made the British Administrative System in India. By M. RUTHNASWAMY. (London: Luzac and Company. 1939. Pp. viii, 660. 21s.)

To quote the preface, "this work is the expanded and finished product" of the Sir William Meyer Lectures delivered at the University of Madras in 1937. It is a compendious volume describing in detail the place of the army, land revenue, and frontier in the shaping and development of Indian administration mainly under the East India Company, though the story is in each case usually brought down to modern times, and the account is interestingly introduced by a chapter on "Commercial Origins" and completed by a study of the state finally produced and the social and political ideas established by the administration.

"Circumstances and expediency" have in Mr. Ruthnaswamy's view been the presiding deities of British administration and the fashioning of the British state in India. Driven by their demands, British rulers were compelled to assert the doctrine of "paramountcy" and "lapse" and, at a time

when England was in the grip of laissez faire, to adopt an economic policy of paternalism (p. 653). The British rulers "had become landlords" and improving landlords at that, and to fill this role the government necessarily became a "ma-bap" government.

For the general reader chapters I to VI on the commercial origins of social and political ideas are probably the most interesting, but for the closer student the chapter on "Land Revenue as Maker of Administration" is the most thorough and important part of the book. Here the author penetrates far below what he calls the level of the district collector to the duties of Tahsildars, Patwaris or village accountants, and the whole machinery of the Zamindari system. For in Mr. Ruthnaswamy's view, "land revenue is generally recognized as the most important influence in Indian Administration", and as Sir Thomas Munro said, "Whoever regulates the assessment of the land rent holds in his hands the peace of the country." A similar but rather shorter analysis of the influence of the frontier, its finance, the forces involved, the two schools of frontier thought—the close border and the Sandeman—is presented in considerable detail.

The volume is a useful contribution to the history of the British administrative system in India, "one of the noblest structures whose records illuminate the annals of the art of administration", by an experienced writer and student of these matters, an enthusiastic but not uncritical admirer of his subject.

Upper Canada College.

T. W. L. MACDERMOT.

British Diplomacy in China, 1880 to 1885. By E. V. G. KIERNAN, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1939. Pp. xi, 327. \$4.50.)

THIS study competently performs the useful service of making available to those interested in China's modern foreign relations the substance of the British documents for the years 1880 to 1885. The author sees his chosen years as a comparatively neglected but portentous time in which China's dependencies were being pulled away and her very existence threatened and in which Far Eastern events did much to shape the emergent groupings of the powers. British policy in this period of tension he assesses as on the whole one of inactivity, not always masterly. The chief concerns of British diplomacy in these years are shown to be the Franco-Chinese hostilities over Annam and Tonking, Korean problems, antiforeign rioting in Canton, and the Far Eastern repercussions of the Afghanistan crisis.

The author's narration of these affairs is rich in detail, but his plan of presentation is a rather unhappy compromise between the topical and the chronological. Topics are broken up into chapters with precise date limits, for example, "Tonking, to September 1883", which are then arranged in a sort of rotation. As a result, the individual themes lose unity by being

treated in installments, while at the same time the interaction between events in different fields is not made sufficiently clear. The inaccessibility of the British archives after 1885 unfortunately imposes an artificial terminal point on some threads in the narrative. The latter part of the book turns from presentation of the processes of diplomacy itself to analysis and characterization of the period. Chapters such as those on "The Structure of China" and "British Enterprise in China" testify to the author's conviction that diplomacy and economics "are two languages describing the same events" (p. ix) and free the study from the narrowness of view too often the hallmark of its species.

The author's judgments on points related more immediately to his research are often incisive, but his ventures into broader fields of Chinese history occasionally go astray. The first two pages of the book attempt a diagnosis of the soul of China which had better have been left undone, and statements such as the assertion that "China had no true feudal period" (p. 209) are unsound. How the author's candidly admitted failure to use Chinese documents affects the perspective of his work may be illustrated by the fact that European diplomats are clearly identified and described, while many important Chinese are referred to only by their surnames: the well-known Liu Ming-ch'uan, for instance, is referred to simply as "a certain Liu" (p. 268). In general the style and tone of the work are cultivated, ironic, and impartial, but the use of "we" in references to Britain and the British will jar on the ears of those reared in the faith of historical objectivity.

Western Reserve University.

MERIBETH E. CAMERON.

Northeastern Asia, a Selected Bibliography: Contributions to the Bibliography of the Relations of China, Russia, and Japan, with Special Reference to Korea, Manchuria, Mongolia, and Eastern Siberia, in Oriental and European Languages. By ROBERT J. KERNER, Professor of Modern European History in the University of California. Two volumes. [Publications of the Northeastern Asia Seminar of the University of California, Robert J. Kerner, Editor.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1939. Pp. xxxix, 675; xxxi, 621. \$26.00. Photolithographed.)

As a pioneer work, Professor Kerner's long-awaited bibliography is invaluable. The area dealt with is of peculiar and rapidly increasing importance. This is the quarter of the globe in which the frontiers of China, Japan, and Russia approach and indeed overlap each other. Yet never before has it been possible to consult one compact guide listing a selection of the rich literature available in the languages of these three countries as well as in English and the other Western languages.

Such a bibliography raises at once the question of the value of the material to be found in these three relatively difficult languages. Reference to

the sections on Manchuria and Manchukuo shows that the modern bibliographies are in Japanese and Chinese, especially Japanese; and Japan also leads in atlases. In geology and natural resources modern material in Chinese, Japanese, and Russian is far more plentiful than in Western languages. As might be expected, the Chinese and Japanese predominate in historical work, especially monographs. When it comes to international relations, the Western languages are well represented, but for one important aspect of international relations they are necessarily inadequate: it is impossible to understand how "the Japanese case" is represented for Japanese consumption without going to the Japanese literature. Russian and Chinese are of comparable importance.

This is to be expected, of course; but quite as important, and much less generally realized, is the fact that in dealing with basic and detailed information on such subjects as agriculture, economics, forestry, industry, finance and banking, railways, and other subjects necessary to the realistic understanding of the problems of a country and its people, the research worker or field worker who has a knowledge of one or more of these languages has a great scientific advantage. For the needs of the scientist, in fact, Chinese, Japanese, and Russian have already passed from marginal value to primary value.

It is to be hoped, therefore, that Professor Kerner's bibliography will rapidly come into use as the major reference work in its field and not simply as a last-hope source of the kind of footnotes that are sometimes added to a thesis to make it look better than it is. In using the two volumes, unfortunately, the lack of an author index is a very great handicap. It is tragic to think that a few hundred dollars more might have provided such an index. Professor Kerner, however, has made up for this lack as far as possible by providing a subject index, numerous cross references, and a table of contents subdivided in great detail.

In getting out such a bibliography, Professor Kerner and his colleagues had to solve peculiar typographical problems. It is remarkable, considering these problems, that they were able to publish in 1939 two six hundred page volumes including references up to 1937. On the other hand, the necessary division of the work among a good many people has allowed numerous errors in the spelling of the names of authors to slip by, together with not a few wrong classifications. For instance, an article on Turfan by Colonel Schomberg, whose name is spelled in at least three different ways, is classified under Outer Mongolia; and Cressey's monograph on the Ordos Desert is also classified under Outer Mongolia. It is much to be hoped that *North-eastern Asia* will be used as much as it is needed and that this will make possible a second edition. Professor Kerner and his collaborators would make it an improved edition.

The Johns Hopkins University.

OWEN LATTIMORE.

AMERICAN HISTORY

The Living Tradition: Change and America. By SIMEON STRUNSKY. (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1939. Pp. viii, 454. \$3.50.)

At a time when the reading public is literally deluged with an ever-increasing stream of printed material much of which is of dubious value, it is a source of great satisfaction to lay hands on a book which says something, with directness and clarity, that should be said. The volume here reviewed is a book of this kind. It is informing. It dares to challenge accepted notions and theories and thereby inspires thought. Mr. Strunsky, its author and one of America's leading journalists, is strongly of the opinion that the change which American civilization has undergone during the last century and a half is far less revolutionary in character than is commonly thought. There are "persistent factors", he asserts, "operating beneath the surface of change". In support of this thesis he has amassed a wealth of material, much of which is statistical in nature. This he has organized into twenty-seven chapters, each of which is devoted to some outstanding item, as size of the country, frontiers, women, children, health, housing, food, play, business workers, machines, farmers, cities, immigration, regions and trails, the press, political habits, the American temper, and the automobile. Two long chapters take up the World War and the business collapse of 1929. Although the pages bristle with facts and figures, they are so skillfully marshaled that there is not a dull paragraph. There is no mincing of words, and yet, with a few exceptions, an atmosphere of urbanity and dispassionateness prevails from cover to cover.

Mr. Strunsky does not ask the reader to agree with him. As he himself says in his prefatory note, the volume contains the findings of one observer. This reviewer, for example, cannot agree that in the colonization and growth of the United States and Canada "there is little support for the doctrine which explains history in terms of geography and climate" (pp. 13-14). Already considerable data to the contrary have been assembled, and a learned volume from the pen of the late Marcus Hansen of the University of Illinois on the settlement and history of parts of the United States and Canada leaves little doubt that Mr. Strunsky is in error on this point. The statement that radicalism in the United States "is chiefly native and agrarian" (p. 33) is debatable. So is the assertion that woman "still has to justify her right to work for a living" (p. 57). It is true that three out of four American families live in a one-family house and that "two of these three families own the house in which they live" (p. 103). But how many of these homes are so heavily mortgaged or otherwise financially encumbered that the nominal owners are no better off than tenant renters? And in connection with housing one may well inquire whether homes built by private interests are as well built in terms of materials and workmanship

as those constructed by the government. Mere numbers built and the cost thereof do not tell the entire story. Is the statement that the mobility of the American farmer is to be accounted for not by things economic but rather by the "restlessness of a pioneer people in a vast open continent beckoning to adventure" (p. 130) wholly accurate? Would Mr. Strunsky attribute the migration of the High Plains farmers of Oklahoma to California merely to adventure? Moreover, the author would have great difficulty in proving that the "satisfaction derived from electric lamps in the house is in the light and glow itself, not in the help for reading and sewing" (p. 162). On page 161, and again on page 184, Mr. Strunsky tells us that the automobile is not a machine but a toy and a plaything; on pages 173 and 189, however, it has become a utility and a necessity. In many parts of rural America the automobile from the standpoint of usefulness is more important than the telephone. One may question whether "we face the menace of too much food in the world" (p. 192) or of faulty means of distribution. Furthermore, Mr. Strunsky is open to challenge when he holds that the problem of the farmer, strictly speaking, "is more political than economic" (p. 197).

Other statements, mostly generalizations that cannot be supported by facts, might be cited, but neither these nor those mentioned above should be allowed to detract too much from the value of this book. Its chapters are of uneven merit. Those which treat of the frontier, cities, women, the press, and political habits are, in the opinion of this reviewer, much superior to those on farmers, business, and machines, where the reader discovers something that borders on the apologetic. But irrespective of chapter comparisons, here is a book which, like a great teacher, informs, inspires, and makes you think. It deserves to be widely and thoughtfully read.

Columbia University.

HARRY J. CARMAN.

The Heritage of America. Edited by HENRY STEELE COMMAGER and ALLAN NEVINS. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1939. Pp. xxiv, 1152. \$4.00.)

The Westward Movement: A Book of Readings on our Changing Frontiers. By INA FAYE WOESTEMEYER. With the Editorial Collaboration of J. Montgomery Gambrill. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1939. Pp. xx, 500. \$2.25; trade edition, \$3.00.)

It is nearly a half-century since Dr. Albert Bushnell Hart published in four volumes *American History told by Contemporaries*. He used a great variety of private papers and public documents to tell the story of the American people. *The Heritage of America* is something quite different in purpose and method. The story is told by personal narratives of those who, as observers or participants, saw the scenes which they describe. Two hundred and fifty-two selections, from the discoverers to the New Dealers, grouped

to cover thirty-five phases or periods, present a vivid account of America. The actors come from every walk of life, and their narratives are as varied as the experiences which make up the record of a people. It is the purpose of Messrs. Commager and Nevins to make this book exemplify a new kind of history by selecting vital firsthand accounts, "pulsing with the hopes and despairs, the ardors and endurances, the joys and sorrows of plain people everywhere". They would have history emanate in the reader's mind, less from libraries and more from life. It is not just another source book to serve in the classroom, though it may be an adjunct of classroom teaching. It might well occupy a place in students' browsing rooms. Its real place is on the living-room table in the home for all to read. By its use history will less often repel, or possibly mislead, than it does through most of the cheap publications that now find a place in homes. This reviewer is not inclined to question the selections chosen from the great storehouse of personal narratives of American life which were available. There is room for rivalry in the making of such books. The introductory notes accompanying each selection always seem brief, sometimes inadequate, but this is perhaps to quarrel with limitations of space and cost of production. The bibliography at the end supplements the introductory notes.

Dr. Woestemeyer has undertaken to devise an improved source book for high school students and confined the readings to the Westward Movement. The secondary title, *Our Changing Frontiers*, is a more accurate title for what she has done. There are three sections. "The Lure of the West" (Part I) surveys the resources of the country in furs, soil, forests, minerals, and grass and ends, as everybody must in these war days, with "news and propaganda". Part II, "Spread of the People", covers the movement to the piedmont, the Mississippi Valley, and the Far West. Part III, "Progress of the Frontiers of Culture", is unique and makes the broader title for the book preferable. Generally pioneers tell their own stories. But a variety of documentary material—letters, handbooks, fiction and verse, legends and folklore—has been used to supplement the narratives of the actors in the changing frontiers. Frequently extracts from secondary accounts are inserted to develop a clearer view. The editor has also introduced sections and sources with liberal explanatory information. The book bristles with technical aids known to educators—pictures, maps, charts, and bibliographical notes. The effect on the minds of the users remains to be tested. It is a worthy experiment.

Western Reserve University.

ELBERT J. BENTON.

The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century. By PERRY MILLER.
(New York: Macmillan Company. 1939. Pp. xi, 528. \$3.75.)

PERRY Miller exhibits much of the intellectual fortitude so characteristic of his Puritan heroes in the task he has set himself. In a series of volumes

which promises to be one of the outstanding achievements of American scholarship he proposes to analyze and trace the historical development of the mind of New England. He writes with indubitable authority, for it is probably true that no one has read so much of what the Puritans wrote or has pondered longer over what they thought. This first volume defines and classifies the "principal concepts of the Puritan mind in New England" prior to 1660. Later volumes will take up the narrative from that point.

New England Puritans, living in an age of transition but dimly realized and seeking to achieve a complete culture for that age, worked out a remarkable synthesis of their heritage of "Augustinian piety" with the Renaissance faith in the power of reason. Imbued with the spirit of Humanism, Ames, Preston, and the New England clergy employed the inherited disciplines of all the liberal arts in justification of their peculiar type of church establishment. By resort to the new logic of Petrus Ramus they derived Biblical authority for their procedure. They studied the physical sciences—Ptolemaic or Copernican, it mattered not for Puritan purposes—to explain the place of their church in the natural world. By means of contemporary psychology they demonstrated its suitability to man. The "concept of the means" explained the church's function, rhetoric "gave it a voice", the "Foederal Theology" provided a theoretical basis, and a doctrine of the state evolved to advance and protect it. All the intellectual resources of the Puritan thus served to buttress his inherited piety. "The church incarnated upon earth the entire pattern of the New England idea."

That Calvinism and the Puritanism of New England were far from synonymous Mr. Miller clearly demonstrates. The theory of the covenant measurably softened the doctrine of predestination and restored to man some of the dignity and freedom of will he had lost in the state of involuntary degradation to which the great Genevan had consigned him. The Puritan state was "wholly contractual; it could be the product of man's volition, and subject to the laws of reason, and yet be directed and ruled by God". That reason might elbow piety aside, as it eventually did, some feared, but by ingenious multiplication of the wonderful covenants they believed they had devised a potent series of checks and balances.

New England Puritanism in these years trod a difficult middle way, striving to preserve to thinking man his power of choice while taking nothing from an omnipotent and very personal God and keeping free of the twin errors of Arminianism and Antinomianism only by virtue of the constant efforts of its philosophers and preachers. It prepared the mind of New England as well for the Age of Reason as for the Great Awakening, as much for the Unitarianism of Boston as for the Transcendentalism of Concord.

This book deserves a wide audience not only of scholars but of intelligent general readers as well. Unfortunately, to all but the narrowest of

specialists Mr. Miller's academic and frequently repetitious style may well prove insurmountable. A Teutonic ponderosity, which at times makes the book read like a translation of Mommsen, often obscures the sweep and poetry of a truly magnificent conception. A simplification of sentence structure and a pruning down of paragraphs, better assimilation of quoted material, and a more thorough distillation of unquestionable learning and scholarship would have produced more of the streamlined qualities of the author's *Orthodoxy in Massachusetts*. And yet, as the Bible was the ultimate authority of the Puritans, so *The New England Mind* must be a Sibylline Book for students of American history, literature, and thought.

Brown University.

CARL BRIDENBAUGH.

Biography by Americans, 1658-1936: A Subject Bibliography. By EDWARD H. O'NEILL. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1939. Pp. x, 465. \$4.00.)

THIS book, apparently a by-product of the compiler's researches for his *History of American Biography* (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLII, 400), a thesis presented for a doctorate in the English department of the University of Pennsylvania in 1935, lists about seven thousand titles, some five thousand of which were examined by him. It is divided into two parts: a subject list of biographies by Americans and a list of American collective biographies. Although the book is called *Biography by Americans*, there is no way of finding out who these American authors were, since the first part lists the biographies only by subject, and there is no index. This section could have been greatly improved by brief critical notes and by the addition of dates of birth and death for the subjects.

The second part lists by author, editor, or (in the absence of these) title 707 American biographical works containing more than one sketch, and the contents are listed where the subjects did not exceed twenty in number. It is a curious, haphazard list, and the reviewer is unable to understand the compiler's basis of selection, if any. Certainly the list could have been increased fivefold without approaching completeness. Books like *Progressive Men of Western Colorado* or *Biographical History of Eminent and Self-made Men of the State of Indiana* or *Men of Mark in South Carolina*, in which everyone from the local bank president to the local livery-stable owner secures a flattering write-up for a stated fee, are an interesting American phenomenon, and there is hardly a county in the United States that has not been covered once in every recent generation. A complete list of these books would have some value, particularly if it were accompanied by a geographical or subject index, but Mr. O'Neill's list is neither complete nor indexed.

The omissions in this section of the book are astonishing. The great works of Sibley and Shipton on Harvard graduates and Dexter on Yale

graduates are missing; Thacher's classic *American Medical Biography* is not there, neither is Wold's indispensable *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1777-1928*. There is no mention of those great mines of biographical information, the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the *Biographical Memoirs* of the National Academy of Sciences, the *Memorial Biographies* of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, J. L. Chamberlain's *Universities and their Sons*, or of the perennially useful *Century Cyclopedia of Names*.

An enormous amount of labor has been wasted in locating copies of recent books that are to be found in any library of importance; this is a valuable procedure for books published prior to 1870, let us say, but users of a bibliography of this sort are not likely to be startled by the information that there is a copy of Nevins's *Grover Cleveland* in the Library of Congress or that the New York Public Library possesses a copy of the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

Columbia University.

MILTON HALSEY THOMAS.

The British Empire before the American Revolution. By LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON, Professor of History and Head of the Department of History and Government, Lehigh University. Volume IV, *Zones of International Friction: North America, South of the Great Lakes Region, 1748-1754*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1939. Pp. xlii, 312, xlv. \$5.00.)

INTERNATIONAL rivalry between Europeans in North America was largely a matter of manipulating the Indian tribes lying between the rival sets of European settlements. The French Empire rubbed elbows with the Spanish along the southeastern and southwestern boundaries of Louisiana and in the West Indies and with the British in a dozen places. But the empire of the British at the middle of the eighteenth century, bursting with a vigorous, expansive energy which its Latin rivals did not possess, literally pushed against the establishments of both the others from Hudson Bay to the Orinoco. The threat of British expansion and its probable effects upon both the other rival empires had become so acute that they eventually felt compelled to submerge their differences in a common front against a Britain manifestly determined (in their eyes) upon achieving a mercantilistic dictatorship of the world.

This is the general theme that Professor Gipson takes up in the fourth volume of his important survey of the British Empire before the American Revolution. But this volume is limited to the friction between the French and British Empires and is only a partial study at that, since it is confined to a discussion of that part of North America lying south of the Great Lakes. The fifth volume will discuss the other zones of Anglo-French friction, and it is to be presumed that some similar treatment will be given to the zones of friction between the British Empire and the Spanish.

Dr. Gipson is here interested chiefly in the "dynamics" of Anglo-French rivalry in the regions south of the Lakes. And by dynamics he means the social and economic forces that were driving the British colonials westward over the mountains and similar, if weaker, forces among the French which prompted their resistance to the British advance. He is concerned with these sociological phenomena as they worked themselves out in the hinterland of Georgia, in the Cherokee-Choctaw countries, and in the valley of the Ohio. For these zones of friction were the tilting fields where the champions of the weak and tenuous line of French establishments drawn through the heart of the continent met the advancing British host of traders, surveyors, and settlers that constituted the mid-century phase of the Anglo-American westward movement. So far as these zones of friction were concerned, statesmen acted in response to the demands of the American westward movement: European diplomacy waited upon colonial social change.

Since the Ohio Valley was the funnel through which a large part of this movement flowed, five of the nine chapters of the book deal with that region, including the Illinois country. The other chapters are concerned with the Florida frontier, the Cherokee country, and Lower Louisiana. We are indebted to Dr. Gipson for a masterly clarification of the confused Indian situation in the Ohio Valley as of the mid-century. His explanation of the failure of the Ohio Company as due to the protests of Americans against the principle of monopoly inherent in its charter and to the adoption by the crown of a new "small-holdings" policy with regard to western lands makes more sense than some of the explanations hitherto offered. Finally, the diplomatic historians who insist upon repeating that the colonies were "the pawns of European diplomacy" will do well to consider the suggestion that it was Virginia that (along with certain other colonies) dragged England into the diplomatic impasse that preceded the Seven Years' War, rather than the reverse. It is true, of course, that the mercantilist conception of a balance of colonial power motivated French and Spanish statesmen in their resistance to British expansion. But it was the expansive movements of the colonies themselves which actually tipped the balance.

It was the dynamics of British expansion in America that made for friction, diplomacy, and war with France in the Western hemisphere. There are parts of the book where the author might have said even more about dynamics than he has done, and one regrets that the diplomatic exchanges which dealt with the zones of friction could not somehow be brought into the discussion as the areas of friction were discussed. But Dr. Gipson promises to discuss diplomacy in the next volume, and it may be better so, for the diplomats concerned thought of the friction in America as one problem. It was quite customary to discuss Acadia, the Lakes, the Ohio, Louisiana, and the West Indies altogether and, as often as not, in a single document. Since this volume covers only a segment of the general problem

of Anglo-French friction in America, the story must be incomplete until the succeeding volume appears.

Stanford University.

MAX SAVELLE.

The Log Cabin Myth: A Study of the Early Dwellings of the English Colonists in North America. By HAROLD R. SHURTLEFF. Edited with an Introduction by SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1939. Pp. xxi, 243. \$2.50.)

THE title of this work conveys an antiquarian overtone that may prove misleading. Mr. Shurtleff's treatment of the theme was actually just the antithesis of that which would be followed by an antiquarian; instead of viewing the log cabin simply as something picturesque in itself, he saw in it a subject for critical investigation leading to generalized conclusions. Trained both as an architect and as a historian, he combined technical understanding with an appreciation of social background and implications, and he has in consequence raised the log cabin from the level of popular myth to the status of significant social history.

Mr. Shurtleff's thesis is that log cabin construction of dwellings was almost entirely unknown among the Indians, among the English and Dutch settlers in America, and among the descendants of the latter during the greater part of the colonial period. Log houses were introduced first by the Swedes and then independently by the Pennsylvania Germans, from which latter group they were taken over by the Scots-Irish. Not until the Revolutionary period had this type of building become common among the rank and file of American farmers in the less thickly settled areas. A wealth of architectural detail, as well as a thorough check of the sources, supports this view in convincing manner, and the whole is submitted in substantiation of similar interpretations first advanced by Fiske Kimball and Henry C. Mercer and in recent years by T. J. Wertenbaker. One may now predict with some confidence that log cabins will disappear from accounts of the English colonies in the near future.

In the course of Mr. Shurtleff's analysis certain questions are raised concerning the relative influence of cultural heredity and of environment upon architectural developments. Why did the English persist in building inferior frame houses in the very presence of Swedish or German log dwellings? Again, why did the Scots-Irish so promptly copy the latter? The answers are apparently to be found in distinct cultural traditions, else a common frontier environment would have imposed common forms. But most interesting to the historian is the author's analysis of the development of the log cabin myth as such. This he ascribes to the usual projection of late forms back into earlier periods, to the erroneous assumption that early settlers were incapable of frame construction, and to the popularity of the log cabin as a symbol of democracy. In consequence of this latter factor a

sort of competition developed between New England and Virginia historians in claiming the origins of this noble institution. In the confusion of Yankee and Southern accents that ensued, no one seems to have heard the Pennsylvania Germans who really had the major claim.

Professor Samuel E. Morison, who edited Mr. Shurtleff's manuscript after the latter's death in 1938, has been most successful in blending his own contributions with the original text and adds a thoughtful tribute to the author's unusual personality and career.

University of Pennsylvania.

RICHARD H. SHRYOCK.

Vermont in the Making, 1750-1777. By MATT BUSHNELL JONES. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1939. Pp. xiv, 471. \$4.00.)

Social Ferment in Vermont, 1791-1850. By DAVID M. LUDLUM. [Columbia Studies in American Culture.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. Pp. x, 395. \$3.50.)

THE first of these volumes is much more scholarly and less expansive than its title would imply. *Vermont in the Making* gives no description of the early settlement of the state or the development of its institutions. It is concerned exclusively with the early Vermont land controversies.

The orthodox interpretation of the quarrel over "the New Hampshire Grants" has long awaited critical analysis. At last we have a study based upon thorough research in the Public Record Office as well as in American manuscripts. The result is at least mildly revolutionary. In Mr. Jones's view there never was any reasonable doubt as to the jurisdiction of New York over the Green Mountains. When Governor Wentworth of New Hampshire issued land grants for more than one hundred towns in what is now Vermont, he was consciously exceeding his authority and endeavoring to add to his own wealth to the extent of about 100,000 acres. The grantees of these townships, including the governor's relatives and political associates as well as the governor himself, were not bona fide settlers at all but land speculators. The attitude of the New York authorities toward this usurpation was for the most part conciliatory. They issued only a few patents which overlapped the Wentworth grants; they were willing to confirm the dubious New Hampshire titles at reasonable fees; and they were especially considerate of the actual settlers on the land.

The first protests against New York's authority came from the wealthy, seaboard speculators who were dealing in thousands of acres of Vermont land claims. The later protests came from a small group of Vermont inhabitants—Ethan Allen and his associates—who in their turn had become speculators in New Hampshire titles to the extent of at least 75,000 acres. The plain people of Vermont itself were never greatly concerned over the controversy and showed repeated willingness to accept New York control.

The whole situation was fairly well understood in London. Lord Hills-

borough, as colonial secretary, was reported as regarding the whole affair as a "Land jobbing Scheme Iniquitous collusion between the late Govr Wentworth & the first Pricipal Pattentees to raise money upon the People without any real fair Intention of Settling the country". But the British authorities delayed decisive action year after year until the situation became highly complicated and the independent republic of Vermont was the result. Such a thesis will be disillusioning to those who cling to the romantic legends of the "Green Mountain Boys", but for this reviewer at least Mr. Jones has proved his case convincingly.

The second volume under review is also somewhat misentitled. It describes the various reform movements in Vermont from 1791 to 1850. There is a considerable account of anti-Masonry, antislavery, the temperance crusade, and the various religious sects. Some attention is paid to prison reform, educational changes, and the care of the insane. In all the chapters the reader finds almost exactly what he expects. Vermont throughout these years was largely echoing the protests and imitating the programs which arose in Massachusetts, New York, and Connecticut. The author, of course, cannot be blamed for failing to discover novelty when no novelty exists. The book is workmanlike and interesting.

But why, if the topic is social ferment, is so little attention paid to many other forms of popular agitation? Waves of emigration enthusiasm, called the "Genesee fever", the "Ohio fever", and the "Michigan fever", were sweeping the hill towns in those years. There was great excitement over the embargo acts and the War of 1812. There was a "silk craze", a "hemp craze", and an all-embracing "wool craze" which surpassed the bounds of reason. All of these popular passions were similar to and substitutes for the hysteria which appeared in religious revivals or the anti-Masonry campaigns. The excitable part of the population was always excited about something but rarely about two things at once.

There is still room for a really thorough and inclusive study of all varieties of social ferment.

Dartmouth College.

LEWIS D. STILWELL.

The Planting of Civilization in Western Pennsylvania. By SOLON J. BUCK and ELIZABETH HAWTHORN BUCK. [The Western Pennsylvania Historical Survey, sponsored jointly by the Buhl Foundation, the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, and the University of Pittsburgh.] (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1939. Pp. xiv, 565. \$5.00.)

UNTIL the Western Pennsylvania Historical Survey was organized there was little appreciation of the significance of this region in the advance of the American frontier. During the four years 1931 to 1935 the staff of the survey, under Dr. Buck's direction, collected a vast amount of material of which the present volume is really a summary. In the authors' own words

it includes "all important phases of human activity" in its account of the development of a primitive wilderness into the orderly and prosperous civilization that existed in Western Pennsylvania by 1815. While the authors have been obliged to define the exact limits of the area concerned, they have pointed out that in the usual fashion of frontiers, Western Pennsylvania as a cultural region was continually shifting as settlement advanced.

Dealing in great detail with a comparatively localized subject, Dr. and Mrs. Buck have displayed a rare quality of historical judgment in the selection of material and in the maintenance of such a balance between the varied topics that they do not stray unduly into favorite bypaths. This is rather a notable quality in a book of this type which must necessarily include such masses of political, social, and economic detail. The general style is excellent, and where great detail is necessary, it is given in a lively fashion that holds the reader's attention. The arrangement of the chapters, too, is a great aid in sustaining the intrinsic interest of the narrative. For example, a digression on the "Cultural Heritage of the Pioneers" precedes the chapter on actual settlement and contributes materially to an understanding of it; and such chapter headings as "Transportation", "Frontier Economy", "Religion", "Local Government and Community Control" indicate the comprehensive nature of this survey of social and economic development along with political.

Nor is this volume a mere local narrative, for the authors have adequately recognized the place of Western Pennsylvania as an important phase of the general American frontier, and this is perhaps the most outstanding among their many contributions to historical knowledge in this particular book. There is a clear-cut view of the unique position of the Western Pennsylvania frontier, commanding as it did the Ohio Valley. Also, the misunderstandings of its inhabitants with those of Eastern Pennsylvania are recounted in such fashion as to make them typical of the usual friction between the frontier and the coast. The Western Pennsylvania frontier, however, was exceptional, inasmuch as here these strongly separative forces did not bring about a new state but, rather, were held in check by the necessity of a compromise with the more conservative Eastern section. This general situation is brought out especially in the fresh and balanced account of the Whiskey Rebellion, which, as the authors significantly show, was really the culmination of longstanding grievances on the part of the Pennsylvania frontiersmen. But the conservative tendencies which had spread from Eastern Pennsylvania played an important part in toning down this outbreak and later in healing the wounds it had left.

Another important contribution is the obviously authoritative account of the important role of Western Pennsylvania in the American Revolution. The continued possession of Fort Pitt, with its command of the Ohio Valley, was of utmost importance to the American forces, and the authors rightly

conclude that without this post it would have been impossible to hold Kentucky and carry on Clark's campaigns. In like fashion the book gives a balanced account of the territorial controversies between Pennsylvania and Virginia and of the prolonged contest between the speculative land companies and the actual settlers.

In general make-up this volume conforms to the highest standards of historical scholarship. In view of the many details, footnotes are obviously impossible, but there are abundant evidences of the meticulous research upon which the text has been based. Thus the excellent analysis of the racial origins of the settlers (pp. 152-55) obviously condenses months of patient research within about two and a half pages. A particularly well-arranged bibliographical essay constitutes an exhaustive compilation of titles and will be indispensable to future historical workers in this field. It is unfortunate that a more critical appraisal of some of the important items was impracticable. A series of excellent maps adds greatly to the text, while numerous illustrations give life and color. The index is full and workable.

Possibly the chief criticism of this fine volume is the lack of sufficient summaries to carry along the mass of details. Especially is this true of the very brief closing chapter, which is written in appreciative fashion but does not include sufficient discussion and explanation to leave really adequate impressions of the varied phases of the process of planting civilization in Western Pennsylvania. But the problem of space is an ever-present one, and altogether, from the standpoint of intrinsic merit as well as that of historical scholarship, the authors and their co-workers are to be congratulated upon a volume that will undoubtedly occupy a distinguished place in the increasing literature of the American frontier.

University of Cincinnati.

BEVERLEY W. BOND, JR.

The Era of the American Revolution: Studies inscribed to Evarts Boutell Greene. Edited by RICHARD B. MORRIS. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. Pp. xii, 415. \$3.75.)

THE volume under review is worthy of the distinguished teacher and writer in whose honor it was prepared. In light of the conditions under which such presentation volumes come into existence it is gratifying to note that the contents of this book are unusually well integrated, and it is clear that the contributors, in the words of the editor, "have striven to formulate a coherent point of view with regard to the era of the American Revolution". Eleven essays are included, the first of which, by Lawrence A. Harper, is entitled "The Effect of the Navigation Acts on the Thirteen Colonies". No one appreciates more fully than Professor Harper, the author of the recently published *English Navigation Laws*, the difficulty of writing as yet with finality about the influence of the navigation system upon the economy of the English colonies. With respect to the figures presented to illustrate

the cash burdens and advantages of British mercantilism in 1773 (pp. 37-38), the extent to which one may draw valid inferences from these may be questioned; no account, for example, is taken of what was then considered a debt of colossal proportions accumulated by Great Britain largely for the preservation of the colonies, the value of which to them can hardly be reduced to mere pounds and shillings.

The second essay, "Writs of Assistance as a Cause of the Revolution" by O. M. Dickerson, indicates how widely extended through the continental colonies was the general issue arising out of the efforts of customs collectors to secure these writs from the courts. Heretofore interest in these writs has too largely been centered by scholars upon the New England colonies. Dr. Dickerson in this survey extending from there to Florida speaks in high praise of the American judiciary for their refusal to give the aid demanded by the collectors who in turn were face to face with the otherwise insuperable problem of upholding the navigation and trade system. To the one side the specific issue was one of preserving what was considered an ancient exemption; to the other it was one of preventing a collapse of law enforcement within the colonies and the triumph of anarchic conditions. The third essay, the most elaborately developed in the volume and also demanding the most intensive survey of local records, by Richard B. Morris, is entitled "Labor and Mercantilism in the Revolutionary Era". It is largely a study of wage and price controls, with especial emphasis upon the unhappy experiences of the states in attempting to make these controls a reality in the midst of the war for independence. Dr. Morris is inclined to take a sympathetic attitude toward those who sought relief from the implications of *laissez faire* in the midst of war.

An interesting essay on "The American Balance of Power and European Diplomacy, 1713-78" by Max Savelle appears next, and this in turn is followed by illuminating studies contributed by Clarence E. Carter and Louise B. Dunbar entitled, respectively, "The Office of Commander in Chief: A Phase of Imperial Unity on the Eve of the Revolution" and "The Royal Governors in the Middle and Southern Colonies on the Eve of the Revolution: A Study of Imperial Personnel", which together testify to the efforts of the ministry to fill high administrative posts in America with those not unworthy of the responsibilities that faced them in attempting to work harmoniously with popular agencies of control while endeavoring at the same time to uphold unpopular regulations established by the crown and by parliament. The revolutionary side is thereupon stressed in four essays: that by Herbert M. Morais on "The Sons of Liberty in New York", which traces the activities of this group but fails to make clear what definite grievances flowing from actual acts of oppression on the part of the British government and suffered by its members led it to espouse the use of terror to gain its ends; that by George C. Groce, jr., on "Eliphalet Dyer: Con-

necticut Radical", a rather strange mixture of judiciary-minded conservative and opportunist who followed the radicalism of his community even in supporting the project of laying hands on the northern part of Pennsylvania; that by Sidney I. Pomerantz on "The Patriot Newspaper and the American Revolution", which is concerned with the New York and New Jersey revolutionary press and its high standards of news reporting; and that by Michael Kraus on "America and the Irish Revolutionary Movement in the Eighteenth Century", an essay that is worthy of expansion so as to emphasize other important aspects than those here included. The final essay, "The Massachusetts Conservatives in the Critical Period" by Robert A. East, indicates how the nationalists within that state seized upon the Daniel Shays riot and built upon it and other evidences of unrest their campaign for a strong national government.

Lehigh University.

LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON.

General Washington's Spies on Long Island and in New York. By MORTON PENNYPACKER. (New York: Long Island Historical Society. 1939. Pp. xiii, 302. \$3.50.)

THAT Washington, like most commanders, employed spies in order to obtain information regarding the enemy's movements has been generally known. But who the spies were and how their work was done has been a matter of speculation. The present volume contains the curious and absorbing story of Washington's intelligence service. The author has derived his information from extensive and skillful use of documentary material, much of which is as yet unpublished. The men whom he commemorates have been heretofore either little known or unknown. Robert Townsend, Abraham Woodhull, Austin Roe, Caleb Brewster, Jonas Hawkins find no place in major histories of the Revolution or in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, yet they were as eyes and ears to the commander in chief of the Continental Army. Without their invaluable assistance Washington's operations against the British would have been little better than a game of blindman's buff. In procuring and transmitting confidential information obtained within the British lines they performed a duty requiring not only iron nerve but the utmost skill, resourcefulness, and intelligence. To the roster of patriots who served the American cause as spies should be added the name of James Jay, brother of John Jay, who invented an invisible ink which made it possible safely to transmit written messages through the lines of the enemy's troops.

In describing the functioning of Washington's "Secret Service Bureau" Mr. Pennypacker treats with picturesque detail such matters as the authorship and character of the cypher codes employed by the spies, the aliases by which the spies concealed their identity, the system of signals by which spy movements were flashed from point to point, the intricate system of com-

munication by which messages were relayed in and out of the British lines, the devices used by Washington to deceive the British through the dissemination of false rumors, and the methods employed to elicit confidential information from British officers in New York City. Emphasis is laid upon the services rendered by Major Benjamin Tallmadge in organizing the American intelligence service. The stories of Nathan Hale and of Arnold's treachery are retold with the use of fresh documentary material, copiously quoted. Austin Roe's little-known ride of fifty-five miles through eastern Long Island with secret advices for Washington, which saved Newport from the British, is described, and the claim is advanced that Roe should be designated the Paul Revere of New York. A useful map and numerous illustrations increase the attractiveness of the volume.

Wellesley College.

EDWARD E. CURTIS.

The Disposition of Loyalist Estates in the Southern District of the State of New York. By HARRY B. YOSHPÉ. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. Pp. 226. \$2.75.)

THE present volume is a scholarly examination of the time-honored thesis that land tenure in southern New York was sharply democratized by the sale of loyalist estates during and after the American Revolution. That thesis has too long been accepted as axiomatic, and its re-examination is very much in order.

Mr. Yoshpe describes the machinery set up by the state for the confiscation of loyalist estates, he has chapters on the liquidation of claims and litigation involving such estates, and he discusses at some length the disposition of the estates. He finds it impossible to escape the conclusion that "the greater number of those who profited by the sales of [estates by] the Commissioners of Forfeitures were well-to-do revolutionists and that the lower classes derived comparatively little immediate benefit". There was some attempt to accommodate small purchasers, but it was in general the already "wealthy and influential landholders, Revolutionary leaders, merchant princes, and speculators" who appeared at the sales and bid in the Tory estates. The comparatively fortunate tenant farmers of Westchester County might profit by the sale of the estates of their loyalist landlords. But elsewhere in southern New York it was representatives of the great and wealthy Whig families who reaped the profit. Such transfers of title clearly contributed but little to the leveling effect of the Revolution.

It should, however, be noted that Mr. Yoshpe does not deny that the Revolution had some leveling influence upon the land system of southern New York: he maintains only that it was "more moderate than has generally been supposed". We learn that the De Lancey West Farm was subdivided and sold to over 175 persons; that the Philipse Manor was sold

in some 311 conveyances, many of them to former tenants; that numerous patriot purchasers of Tory estates later cut them up and sold them in small parcels; and that the manipulations of the speculators, who came into a very generous share of the loyalist holdings, accomplished a great deal in the way of democratizing the land system. In spite of the author's carefully phrased generalizations pointing in the opposite direction, the reviewer is of the opinion that the evidence produced in *The Disposition of Loyalist Estates in Southern New York* sustains the older thesis that the confiscation and sale of Tory lands in that region contributed very substantially to the democratization of landholding in the southern counties of New York.

The index is so nearly an index of proper names only that one wonders why just four other terms, "loyalists", "slaves", "speculators", and "tenants", happen to have been included.

Department of State.

E. WILDER SPAULDING.

Bryce's "*American Commonwealth*". Fiftieth Anniversary. Edited by ROBERT C. BROOKS, Swarthmore College. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1939. Pp. xii, 245. \$2.50.)

The Problem of the Constitution. By EDWARD JEROME. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1939. Pp. ix, 224. \$2.50.)

MEMORIAL volumes, as a species, are not held in high esteem. Sometimes they take the form of indiscriminate eulogy; sometimes, almost ignoring their professed object, they serve merely as an excuse for publishing a few essays of dubious merit. In the volume before us, however, the seven contributors confine their attention to Bryce and his *American Commonwealth*; and, the purpose being to appraise that work once more, half a century after its appearance, they do not withhold critical judgments. Indeed, Dr. Haines has indulged in criticisms which, even if they had more justification, would seem obviously extravagant. He speaks about Bryce's "lack of historical perspective", "his partisan and partial analysis", his "weak arguments and indefensible logic", his obliviousness to "inconsistencies and discrepancies", his blind acceptance of "the foremost myths and legal postulates of the Federalist party", and other gross defects. The plagiaristic writer of a third-rate college textbook seldom meets with such censure. It is unfortunate that these belittlings of Bryce appear in the first ten pages of the book. They are quite at variance, however, with the general verdict. Thus Dr. Munro finds Bryce scrupulously impartial; Dr. Graves alludes, with "enthusiasm", to his insight and penetration; and Woodrow Wilson (in a review of 1889, now republished) refers to his accuracy, the sage balance of his judgment, and his consciousness of our historical make-up and tendencies.

It is remarkable that a foreigner, making a comprehensive survey of American life and often blazing the first trail through a wilderness (like public opinion and state government), should have been so accurate. At

times Bryce did fall into error, though rather in his forecasts of the future than in his analysis of the present. The essayists draw attention to these occasional lapses, but—except as already noted—without overemphasis and without any thought of detracting from a great reputation. Thus, while Dr. Graves believes that methods in the study of public opinion have improved, he gives Bryce the credit of understanding the American people better than most of them understand themselves.

In his short treatise on the constitution Mr. Jerome shows at once originality of thought, dialectical aptitude, and scholarly competence. The scholarship is unobtrusive; it manifests itself without any piling up of detailed evidence and without recourse to a single footnote. Mr. Jerome is concerned mainly with the distribution of powers between nation and states. According to his argument, "any power to regulate conduct that was given to Congress was exclusively given". It was political expediency, and not the intent of the Fathers, that led Marshall to differentiate intrastate from interstate commerce. The Fathers neither divided the power over commerce nor authorized the Supreme Court to divide it. In the phrase "among the several States" the word "among" is more than a mere substitute for the word "between". The lonely dissenting opinion of Justice Johnson in *Gibbons v. Ogden* was "far superior" to the opinion of the Chief Justice, and Marshall probably knew it, "but he also knew that it was dangerous, if not politically impossible, so to declare the law". Here Mr. Jerome, contrary to his usual practice, does not look for support in the records of the convention of 1787: he could find none. Nor could he draw comfort from Madison and Hamilton in *The Federalist*. Jefferson, while Secretary of State, declared that the jurisdiction of the general government over commerce began only when goods were exported from a state.

The treatment of sovereignty is not altogether convincing. Mr. Jerome alludes to Article V but attaches little importance to it. The convention, he says, divided sovereignty between central and local governments, and that division might have persisted if it had been understood. Yet we are also told that sovereignty cannot be divided and that Hamilton was right: the co-existence of two sovereignties within the same area is impossible. There are some enlightening observations about the malign influence of politics upon law and about the failure of constitutional safeguards when the representative system of a republic gives way to direct popular action under a democracy.

Pomona College.

E. M. SAIT.

The Constitutional History of the United States, 1776-1826: The Blessings of Liberty. By HOMER CAREY HOCKETT, Professor of History in the Ohio State University. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1939. Pp. xiv, 417. \$3.00.)

PROFESSOR Hockett meditates a three-volume work on the hundred and

fifty years of American constitutional history subsequent to the Declaration of Independence, each volume to cover a half-century of development. The present volume ostensibly takes its departure from 1776, but in fact the first of its three parts, 103 pages in length, is an introduction treating of "The Evolution of a British Imperial Constitution". It is, unfortunately, much the weakest part of the book; the author evidences an unfamiliarity with the material and an awkwardness in dealing with it which entirely disappear in the two subsequent parts.

The central theme of this history is, very properly, first the creation and then the interpretation of a federal system, and the aspect which receives the greatest elaboration is the place of the judiciary in such a system under a written constitution. Upon such topics as the antecedents of judicial review, its application by the Supreme Court in setting aside both state and federal legislation, and the relation of federal and state courts, the book is full and soundly written. He who comes after McLaughlin, Corwin, and Warren in these matters has the way made straight before him. On the interpretation of the nature of the federal union, and the bearing upon every phrase of the Constitution of the manner in which the Preamble is taken, Professor Hockett, succeeds in being at once concrete and comprehensive, although he is somewhat contemptuous of constitutional metaphysics and apparently convinced that "the People" is a fraud unless every last man, woman, child, and idiot has been counted in.

The most perplexing trait of the book is the author's practice of abruptly introducing short sections in which Marxist or near-Marxist doctrines of class conflict as the basis of human history are stated or assumed and then as suddenly dropping this conception for a traditional discussion of purely constitutional issues. The effect is singularly disjointed, and although we infer that he holds Marx in high honor, we are left wondering what is meant or implied by the statement (p. 265) that Jefferson's attitude toward the masses—his contempt for the mobs of great cities has been under discussion—"under different circumstances might have resulted in something like Marxism".

In matters of historical detail the volume is occasionally undependable. The manuscript of Thomas Hutchinson's history did not turn up in England many years after the Stamp Act riots (p. 84, n. 29); it was picked up the next morning and restored to its owner by Dr. Andrew Eliot. Governor Bernard was no American; he came from Boston, Lincolnshire, not Boston, Massachusetts (p. 88). The Virginia and Maryland commissioners of 1785 were not sent to Mount Vernon; they met at Alexandria and later adjourned to Washington's home (p. 196). The Annapolis Convention was called for May, not September, of 1786 (p. 197); the latter month was the period of its belated session. Its report as quoted becomes more intelligible if it is understood that it was *addressed* only to the five states which had sent dele-

gates, although copies were sent to the remaining eight (p. 198). That the Constitution was to become effective upon its ratification by nine states should not be allowed to appear as a "proviso" of the Congress of the Confederation or a request of the Convention to the Congress (p. 220) rather than as an article of the Constitution itself. But these are small matters.

Library of Congress.

D. H. MUGRIDGE.

Jedidiah Morse: A Champion of New England Orthodoxy. By JAMES KING MORSE. [Columbia Studies in American Culture.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. Pp. ix, 179. \$2.50.)

THIS study, as the author points out, is not a biography but "an attempt to reveal, by documentary evidence, the intricate religious pattern and the 'incredible story' of a formative and confused period in our American church history—1783-1819—as it is reflected in the mind and career of that protagonist of orthodoxy, Jedidiah Morse" (preface). After a brief analysis of the "complex ecclesiastical setting" into which Jedidiah Morse was born, a sketch of his youth and education, and an account of his settlement at Charleston, Massachusetts, the author traces Morse's activities in connection with a series of religious conflicts, notably the debate over the "Illuminati conspiracy", the dispute over the introduction of "consociation" into Massachusetts, the conflict over the appointment of Henry Ware as Hollis Professor of Divinity at Harvard, the founding of a stronghold of orthodox education at Andover, the establishment of the Calvinistic *Panoplist* and of the Park Street Church in Boston, and the break between Unitarians and Calvinists in 1815. "The aim of this study", says its author, is "to clarify the general issues at stake" in these controversies (preface). On issues, however, in the sense of critical theological differences such as separated orthodox and Unitarian parties in New England late in the eighteenth and early in the nineteenth centuries and distinguished moderate Calvinists from Hopkinsians and Edwardians in this period, the book throws very little light. Its failure in this respect need not be taken, it should be said, as evidence of the author's lack of penetration, for Jedidiah Morse was less a theologian than a shrewd and energetic ecclesiastical tactician. The judgment that "the intricacies of theological systems held little appeal to the 'Father of American Geography' . . . [who] was first and foremost a leader of men and a champion of causes" (p. 73) is amply confirmed by Morse's publications and by his biography. Although he bent every effort to strengthen the ecclesiastical defenses of the orthodox party, he did almost nothing to strengthen its theological position. At best, then, it is in only a very limited way that the book achieves its purpose of clarifying the general issues of the controversies into which he entered.

Readers who find the book disappointing in this respect are likely also to be dissatisfied with its way of accounting for the theological differences

between Morse and his opponents. For explanations of these differences the author turns to commonplaces about the secularizing influence of postwar prosperity and particularly to the differences between the seaboard communities, where wealth and culture induced liberalism, and the frontier, "remote from the main currents of the world's life" and relatively untouched by "the influence of wealth and trade", where orthodoxy flourished (pp. 46, 63). The modifications of this analysis which would be required in bringing it to bear upon the psychology of the wealthy supporters of Andover and of the Park Street Church in Boston are not suggested.

Mr. Morse's study "has been made possible", he writes, "largely through the availability of many hitherto unpublished letters of Jedidiah Morse". This new material, however, does not seem to modify in any important way the early interpretations of the religious conflicts in the period or of Morse's part in them. The chapter on Morse's role in the founding of Andover, for instance, adds little to the account provided by Sprague's *Life of Jedidiah Morse* (1874) either by way of new evidence or reinterpretation. It contains excerpts from six manuscript letters (one of them previously cited by Sprague) which do little more than parallel data already available. The account differs from that in Woods's *History of the Andover Theological Seminary* (1885) chiefly in being less complete, as is of course to be expected, and in implying, as a result of preoccupation with a single figure, a more influential role for Morse than Woods's version of the story would justify. What the author has succeeded in doing here as elsewhere is to bring into convenient compass an account of Morse's efforts to consolidate the forces of orthodoxy and to direct their attack on institutions supporting the liberal party.

The University of Chicago.

C. H. FAUST.

Democracy. By THOMAS JEFFERSON. Selected and arranged, with an Introduction, by SAUL K. PADOVER, Formerly Research Associate in History, University of California. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1939. Pp. xvi, 291. \$2.50.)

Few will question the assertion of Mr. Padover that a systematic treatise embodying the ideas of Jefferson on the subject of democracy is needed. The well-known failure of the Sage of Monticello to formulate his political philosophy, however, can be explained on other grounds than his absorption in other matters. Being a philosophic statesman rather than a political philosopher, Jefferson himself may well have doubted the universal validity of his comments on events as they occurred; and students of his life have found considerable inconsistency in the "principles" which he adduced under particular circumstances and pronounced for specific political purposes.

The method employed by Mr. Padover is productive of interesting and

useful results, but it is subject to obvious limitations. He says that his book is "not an anthology, but a fairly integrated book containing statements of principles and arranged in logical sequence". In order to attain logical arrangement under various topical headings he has been compelled to tear sentences from their historical context and in some instances at least to disregard chronology. Thus, in dealing with freedom of the press, he quotes early sayings favorable to freedom, follows these with bitter comments from Jefferson on the abuses of freedom during his presidency, and finally returns to the original emphasis by giving a quotation from the year 1786. In this particular instance later quotations were available and have been used elsewhere, but the necessary limitations of the scheme of arrangement are here made apparent. One is reminded of the old proof-text method of citing the Scriptures. The analogy is more striking in the case of Jefferson, probably, than in that of any other major American statesman: from the rich store of his writings, formal and informal, texts can be and have been drawn to support sharply conflicting political practices. The task of the historian, accordingly, is to select the temporary from the timeless, to determine the trend of his thought rather than its occasional aberrations, and to emphasize the faith which he proclaimed rather than any rigid body of doctrine which he promulgated.

Approaching this current selection with these reservations in mind, however, one can accept it not as a systematic treatise but as a useful collection which emphasizes major trends and contains comments of immense significance in the troublous times in which we live. The public should be on guard against politicians quoting Jeffersonian texts for their own purposes, but the historian should not cavil because the subtle mind of Jefferson is oversimplified in a popular book like this. Scholars may neither need nor want a Bible of democracy, but humanity needs something to set against the simple and sinister doctrines of totalitarianism. To embattled democrats such a handy arsenal of Jeffersonian maxims as this may be exceedingly useful.

Harvard University.

DUMAS MALONE.

The International Law of John Marshall: A Study of First Principles. By BENJAMIN MUNN ZIEGLER, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Amherst College. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1939. Pp. xii, 386. \$3.50.)

If any justification were needed for a book on John Marshall's contributions to international law, the present volume would amply supply it. The author has performed his task thoroughly and with discrimination. Marshall's early legal education was brief and fragmentary. While on military duty at Williamsburg in 1780 he attended for perhaps six weeks law lectures given at William and Mary College by George Wythe, historically

known as Chancellor Wythe, often called our first law professor; but I do not hesitate to ascribe greater importance to the fact that Marshall's father purchased as early as 1772 a copy of Blackstone's *Commentaries*, which it has in recent times become fashionable to deride as a source of education. This attitude I do not share, especially as my own legal education began with the reading of Sharswood's edition of that treatise; and, far from having regretted it, I still congratulate myself upon it. I am not, and never have been, enamored of the fetish called the case system. I am far from saying that it is not possible to make a good use of the system. What I do intend to convey is that it is not possible for the average teacher to do so.

As the author of the present volume points out, international law, earlier known as the law of nations or the law of nature and of nations, was in Marshall's day in active course of development, and it was developed by learned writers and intelligent judges and little warped and distorted by unintelligent legislation. Marshall's exceptional grasp of the principles of international law, as well as of constitutional law, became manifest before he ascended the bench. It was demonstrated when he was a member of the House of Representatives in the first Congress, in the case of Jonathan Robins, who was delivered up as a fugitive from justice under the twenty-seventh article of the Jay Treaty. The action of the administration was bitterly assailed. Marshall defended it in a speech which Henry Adams, in his life of Albert Gallatin, declared still to stand "without a parallel in our Congressional debates". Gallatin was besought by the Republicans to answer it but is reported to have declined on the ground that the speech was, as he said, with a trace of his original French accent, "unanswer-able". Later, as Chief Justice of the United States, Marshall was aided by what we may call the group of learned and accomplished barristers that figured conspicuously among the lawyers who then argued cases before the Supreme Court, a group which long endured but which eventually succumbed to the besom of rapid transit.

The prodigious part played by Marshall in the development of the Supreme Court is tellingly depicted by our author in a statement of what was done before and what was done after Marshall became Chief Justice. In the eleven years prior to his accession, in 1801, the court decided 55 cases. Between 1801 and 1835, when he died, there were decided 1215 cases, of which 62 involved constitutional questions, while 195 involved questions of international law or affected international relations. Of the total of 1215 cases, Marshall delivered the opinion in 519, of which 36 related to constitutional law and 80 to international law, embracing, among other things, war and its effect on neutrals as well as war and its effect on belligerents. His dissenting opinions number only 9.

The troubled condition of things at the present moment renders specially appropriate the careful study of Professor Ziegler's volume, not only as an illuminant but also as an antidote to the "black despair" which tends, amid

the clash of arms, impulsively to shroud the world in the "gloom of earthquake and eclipse".

New York City.

JOHN BASSETT MOORE.

James Kent: A Study in Conservatism, 1763-1847. By JOHN THEODORE HORTON, University of Buffalo. [The American Historical Association.] (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1939. Pp. xi, 354. \$3.50.)

KENT, along with Lemuel Shaw and Thomas Cooley, was a leader in what may be called the second reception of English law in America. The first reception had been launched by a legal profession hardly as well equipped a full century before Kent ascended the bench in New York. But in the intervening years the natural rights philosophy of the Revolution and the social conflicts of the Critical Period had contributed to a decline in the prestige of the common law.

The author of this important study has demonstrated how Kent, with his Federalist political leanings, his social conservatism and respect for vested interests, was able, through his common law and chancery opinions and his widely read *Commentaries*, to keep the law of the state within the paths of English traditionalism at a time when political conservatism was being overthrown in New York. Mr. Horton's incisive portrait of the chancellor places his juristic thought in its proper relation to the social currents of his day. There emerges a judge of great legal scholarship and logical powers, who used precedent as a cloak for partisanship, whose veneration for *stare decisis* was a smoke screen to conceal his political intransigence, and whose stark defense of privilege was palatably set forth in the polished phraseology of Cicero and Quintilian.

The most notable illustrations of Kent's respect for propertied interests even at the sacrifice of needed social improvements were his decisions in the steamboat monopoly cases and those involving toll roads and toll bridges, where he employed the injunction to bar competition and brushed aside considerations of convenience to the community. In this important group of cases he showed a lack of that judicial statesmanship and imagination which characterized Marshall's great opinion in *Gibbons v. Ogden*. Even where a given rule might appear "monstrous", he maintained that the court was not at liberty to deviate from precedent, that it was for the legislature to change the law. At the same time, as a member of the council of revision, he vetoed legislative reforms and in his political career indicated a lack of sympathy with democratic legislative procedures. He went so far as to pay heed to decisions of the English chancery after 1775, contrary to accepted principles of the operative effect of English law in America. His enthusiasm for his British contemporaries on the woolsack leads Mr. Horton to remark "that his audience may well have wondered whether he had not persuaded himself that the Revolution was a mistake".

On the other side of the ledger must be entered Kent's defense of devia-

tions of the American law of real property from the English—changes in the direction of greater democracy—and his famous decision in *People v. Croswell*, a landmark in the law of criminal libel. Even here, though, Mr. Horton is justified in querying whether Kent's researches would have produced the same result had the political circumstances of the case been altered. Kent never raised his voice against Chase's enforcement of the Sedition Laws.

Mr. Horton has written a work of insight and objectivity which may well serve as a model for studies of our legal giants. At times he himself has partaken, perhaps too generously, of the stylistic mayonnaise of the master, whose writings he has so thoroughly examined. For example: "though the bosoms of Seneca and Cayuga were no longer cloven by the war canoes of befeathered braves, the Indians still tarried in their ancestral haunts". Again, I am not sure that the author really meant to characterize deistic thought as "a facile irreligion" or to imply ridicule of more recent and humane attitudes toward the poor when he says, "Paupers were not as yet highly esteemed."

The City College, New York.

RICHARD B. MORRIS.

Tabeau's Narrative of Loisel's Expedition to the Upper Missouri. Edited by ANNIE HELOISE ABEL. Translated from the French by ROSE ABEL WRIGHT. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1939. Pp. xi, 272. \$3.50.)

THE present reviewer well remembers that when in the early years of this century work was being done on the Thwaites edition of the *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* there were several references to former voyagers on the upper Mississippi who could not be identified with the information then at hand. Since then much has been discovered and published concerning the British, French, and Spanish traders who preceded the American expedition of 1804-1806, and our knowledge of the competition in the fur trade during the last decade of the Spanish regime in Louisiana has been enlarged. Now comes this narrative of Pierre Antoine Tabeau, which explains and amplifies Clark's reference to "Mr. Tabaux who is at present with Louisell up the Missouri" and to the letter he received from "Mr. Anty Tabeaux".

It was fortunate that this narrative in its French form (of which two different manuscripts exist) fell into the skillful hands of Dr. Abel and her sister, Dr. Wright, who did the translating. Dr. Abel knows the trans-Mississippi thoroughly, and her scholarly introduction and careful notes make the narrative of especial value to Western historians. We regret that her first plan of printing the French with the English translation could not have been carried out as some indications offer doubt as to the adequacy of the translation; also Tabeau was an unusually well-educated man for a fur trader, and his personal impressions would be valuable in his own lan-

guage. He tells us much of the animals that were hunted, of the birds, fish, and fruits along the upper Missouri. But the chief usefulness of the book, aside from the historic implications, consists in the author's estimate and description of the several tribes of Indians, whom he knew thoroughly and had a low opinion of, for the most part. "War", he says, "is the greatest plague of all the Savages of the Upper Missouri. . . . They see all the advantages of peace and seem to desire it; but through inconsistency, or rather through a passion, so much more incorrigible since it has its origin in custom, war is necessary to them." With these succinct remarks and the description of a few unusual ceremonies the narrative abruptly closes.

The editor thinks that the Washington version of the narrative, found among the papers of Joseph N. Nicollet (erroneously called Jean by the editor), was the preliminary or rough draft, of which the Montreal version was an emasculated revision omitting all political and historical references. It should be noted, however, that while Miss Abel used a copy of the latter to compare with the Washington version, she never saw the original of the Montreal version, which was in the archiepiscopal palace. From it, however, she obtained confirmation of the authorship of the Washington version, which is anonymous, but which she had already identified as probably the work of Tabeau. This journal, more full than that of any of the other upper Missouri traders, fills a niche in the late eighteenth and first years of the nineteenth century in trans-Mississippi exploration.

*The State Historical Society
of Wisconsin.*

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG.

Tarnished Warrior: Major-General James Wilkinson. By JAMES RIPLEY JACOBS, Major, U. S. Army, Retired. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xv, 380. \$3.50.)

THIS biography of General James Wilkinson is the first worth the name. It is based on careful and extensive research in unpublished manuscript materials that have only in recent years become available, and by an objective and careful use of these Major Jacobs has been able to prove the venal and unscrupulous aspects of Wilkinson's conduct. He has not, however, at any time accused him of treachery but rather is content to let the contemporary record speak for itself.

Essentially, Wilkinson was a selfish opportunist whose conduct and actions were determined by personal necessities rather than by traitorous intent. Consistently, over a period of nearly twenty years, he played both ends against the middle. He was the Spanish conspiracy. At the end of his unscrupulous dealings with the Spanish officials he was no better off, materially, than when he began and in the interval had acquired a reputation that has become less savory as new documentary evidence has come to light.

In spite of his Spanish dealings, Wilkinson was of value to Presidents

Washington, John Adams, Jefferson, and Madison and was used by them for expansionist objects as constantly and purposefully as he himself used the successive Spanish governors. In the one case the object was national gain and expansion; in the other only selfish personal welfare was considered.

Wilkinson had a certain brilliant vividness and an egotistical self-assertiveness and self-confidence that often carried him perilously near to ruin and destruction. At times, when put to the test, the steel in his character, so curiously mixed with the gold and dross of his nature, revealed itself. Truly his was a character of contradictions. As long as it seemed advantageous to do so, his friends and business associates stuck by him, but when he got into trouble most of them deserted him like rats leaving a sinking ship.

All this and more is brought out by Major Jacobs. There are few omissions or errors of statement, though occasionally citations are incompletely or incorrectly given. At some points the narrative is not clear, usually because of the assumption that the reader will possess information he is not likely to have, as, for example, in the discussion of the occupation of the Mississippi River posts (pp. 150-57). Also the treatment of the relations of General Wayne with Wilkinson is sketchy and unsatisfactory.

There are a number of interesting illustrations and contemporary maps. The frontispiece attributed to Gilbert Stuart is probably by Jarvis; the original is in the Filson Club. There is an extended bibliography and an index. There are few typographical errors.

Port Washington, New York.

THOMAS ROBSON HAY.

Religion on the American Frontier, 1783-1850. By WILLIAM WARREN SWEET. Volume III, *The Congregationalists: A Collection of Source Materials.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1939. Pp. xi, 435. \$3.00.)

WHEN the history of the American frontier as a whole is finally written, the story of the role played by religion will not be the smallest or slightest part of it. It is in anticipation of that larger history that Professor Sweet of the Chicago Theological Seminary has in preparation this series of volumes on religion on the American frontier, 1783-1850. Three volumes have appeared to date: *The Baptists* (1931), *The Presbyterians* (1936), and now *The Congregationalists*. This last volume consists of two parts, a brief but excellent study of Congregationalism from 1783 to 1850 and a large collection of source materials illustrating the preceding study and confirming the conclusions Mr. Sweet draws. It includes a bibliography, a good index, and three maps illustrative of the expansion of the people of New England and the churches they founded.

As Professor Sweet says at the outset, the Congregationalists, though confined almost exclusively to New England, were "the most numerous as

well as the most influential religious body in America". There is abundant evidence, as he tells us, "to show that New England furnished to the West professional men—lawyers, doctors, ministers, politicians, and leaders in business—out of all proportion to their numbers". From 1649, when the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England was formed, "the Congregationalists were never without a missionary interest". The "Autobiography of Flavel Bascom", who graduated from Yale College in 1828 and was a tutor there from 1831 to 1833, resigning his position to accept a commission from the American Home Missionary Society "to preach the gospel in Illinois", is given in full from 1833 to 1840. The vivid picture here presented is invaluable for any study of the church and the frontier.

As illustrative material this book is admirable. It is adequate for the average student and points the way to many intensive studies. The manuscript material—for example, the more than 100,000 letters from missionaries together with 150 volumes of "press" copies of letters housed by the Chicago Theological Seminary; the huge mass of correspondence of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, housed in Cambridge and in Chicago; the collections housed in Hartford, Beloit (Wisconsin), Oberlin College, Illinois College, and many more not cited by Professor Sweet—all this cannot be consulted by the average student, and the excerpts in this volume are therefore of unusual value and usefulness. The study is recommended to teachers of American history in colleges and universities and to their students.

Madison, Wisconsin.

LOIS KIMBALL MATHEWS ROSENBERY.

Old Tippecanoe: William Henry Harrison and his Time. By FREEMAN CLEAVES. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1939. Pp. xiv, 422. \$3.75.)

HARRISON, despite his ubiquity in public office, is essentially a minor figure in American history. The appearance of this volume, which is clearly intended to enhance his status, raises the question whether Mr. Cleaves has found new material sufficient in amount to justify a new biography or novel enough in content to necessitate a reassessment of critical judgments. To this question the reviewer must return, on the whole, a negative answer. This is not intended to imply that Mr. Cleaves has not done a great deal of research, both in data previously utilized as well as in certain other materials, such as the private collection of John Scott Harrison IV, the papers of contemporaries, such as the Torrance Papers in the collections of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio (previously restricted as to their use), the Mitten Collection in the Indiana Historical Society, and others. And Mr. Cleaves has shown a painstaking industry in his search through the files of local Western newspapers for crumbs of new material.

Despite what has been culled from these new sources, however, it can

scarcely be said that anything of momentous importance has been added to current knowledge. For the most part the fresh material has yielded no more than some interesting detail, particularly on Harrison's personal life, his relations with his family, his friends, his interests, his comings and goings. Essentially the earlier figure of Harrison emerges unchanged, and the earlier judgment of the reviewer stands: "a man of fair abilities but not extraordinary talents".

As the title of the book indicates, Mr. Cleaves presents Harrison somewhat in the traditional vein of the popular hero, defending his conduct in the Battle of Tippecanoe and in the War of 1812. In addition he pictures Harrison as a figure of greater political consequence in the period intervening between the close of the War of 1812 and the election of 1840 than seems justifiable either on the score of Harrison's political activities and influence or from the point of view of his contribution to party principle.

Mr. Cleaves glosses over Harrison's persistent attempts to obtain office and delineates a man whose merits so aroused enthusiasm that he became an outstanding figure. For example, in the account of Harrison's appointment as major general by the governor of Kentucky on August 25, 1812, Mr. Cleaves creates an impression that the appointment was made in response to a spontaneous demand of militia officers and citizens and before the news of Hull's surrender reached Frankfort (pp. 115-16). This seems misleading. In the first place, although Mr. Cleaves mentions Harrison's letter to Governor Scott of Kentucky of July 14, 1812 (p. 114), he omits a full account of its contents. The full text reveals Harrison as soliciting the governor's influence with the President, states that Harrison is planning to write other persons on the subject, and adds significantly, "If the volunteer were generally to express their sentiments the probability is that they would be successful" (L. Esarey, ed., *Messages and Letters of William Henry Harrison*, II, 74). Secondly, Harrison's letter to the Secretary of War of August 28, 1812 (*ibid.*, p. 98), shows clearly that his appointment was precipitated by the arrival of an express bearing news of the probability of Hull's "being obliged to surrender unless immediately relieved". In his treatment of Harrison's appointment as minister to Colombia in 1828, Mr. Cleaves fails to give a full view of Adams's opposition, nor does he quote his biting comments on Harrison, whose "thirst for lucrative office", according to Adams, was "absolutely rabid". Adams added: "Vice-President, Major General of the army, Minister to Colombia—for each of these places he has been this very session as hot in pursuit as a hound on the scent of a hare" (*Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, VII, 530). While the reviewer is far from being a proponent of the "muckraking" school of biography, it cannot be doubted that all aspects of a man's activities, both creditable and discreditable, must be laid bare if a true valuation of the man is to be achieved.

Mr. Cleaves's volume is handsomely illustrated and attractively bound

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and will probably increase the general knowledge of Harrison, although it is, perhaps, overlong and too detailed for popular consumption.

Hunter College.

DOROTHY BURNE GOEBEL.

The German Church on the American Frontier: A Study in the Rise of Religion among the Germans of the West, based on the History of the "Evangelischer Kirchenverein des Westens" (Evangelical Church Society of the West), 1840-1866. By CARL E. SCHNEIDER, Eden Theological Seminary, St. Louis. (St. Louis: Eden Publishing House. 1939. Pp. xx, 579. \$4.50.)

THIS is "a case study" of a single group known as *Der Deutsche Evangelische Kirchenverein des Westens*, illustrating the religious and social conditions and the important work of a German church on the American frontier at a time when it was characterized by its large immigrant accessions. The perspective of any other German church group might have been attempted, but it is questionable whether the picture would have been as realistic and varied.

The *Kirchenverein* was an organization of Protestant preachers, at first coming mostly from the Basel and Barmen Pietistic centers, who tried to realize in the western area of the United States (Missouri, Illinois, Iowa, etc.) the union of the Lutheran and Reformed churches as it had been accomplished in Prussia under Frederick William III in 1817. The well-established German Lutheran and Reformed churches of the East would not entertain the idea of a merger, although they had made little progress with their missions in the West. The newcomers, the *Kirchenverein* and its very successful competitors the Saxon Lutherans (Missouri Synod), who had left their native land in opposition to the newly established United German State Church, learned to adapt themselves to frontier conditions and gained ground where the others had not.

During its first decade the *Kirchenverein* was at times threatened with extinction through defections, opposition of rival missions, persecution by rationalistic and freethinking groups, doctrinal controversies, lack of funds (though often receiving assistance from home and the eastern American Home Missionary Society), and last but not least frontier conditions of inebriety, immorality, atheism, and violence. For a quarter century its organization was but an insecure union of ministers who refused to form a synod or new denomination because they did not give up hope of realizing their ideal of a union of Protestant churches in America, after the example in their mother country. To carry on their purpose they founded a seminary at Marthasville to recruit new helpers and enlisted civic co-operation in humanitarian projects, such as the Good Samaritan Hospital and the Orphans' Home in St. Louis, without taking credit for themselves.

When the *Kirchenverein* finally recognized its inability to gather the

Protestant German churches under one roof—it had failed just as Count Zinzendorf had failed in Pennsylvania one hundred years earlier—it gradually awakened to the importance of founding a synod or separate denomination. Established in 1866, this “German Evangelical Synod of the West” was renamed in 1877 the “German Evangelical Synod of North America”. In 1925 the word German was dropped, signifying historically that the German immigration was no longer large enough to demand preaching in German and that the descendants understood the English language better. Finally in 1934 steps were taken to merge the Evangelical Synod and the Reformed Church into the “Evangelical and Reformed Church in the United States”.

Professor Schneider has brought to his task his large resources derived from untiring investigations in denominational history and careful study of the history of the Germans in the United States and has given us a standard history of the memorable *Kirchenverein* of 1840-1866. His statements are fortified by valuable references in copious footnotes; he has supplied interesting photographs of persons, places, buildings, and documents, and a very complete index. The chapters on “The German and the American Background”, “Religious Origins among the Germans of the West”, “Pastoral Labors on the Frontier”, “The Social Challenge of the Frontier”, etc., go far beyond the narrower sphere of denominational history. They should prove as fascinating as they are instructive for the general reader as well as for the student of American history. The appearance of the book is timely, marking the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of the *Kirchenverein*.

Cornell University.

A. B. FAUST.

The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson. Edited by RALPH L. RUSK, Professor of English in Columbia University. Six volumes. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. Pp. lxvi, 458; 471; 462; 541; 546; 633. \$30.00.)

THE publication of these volumes of Emerson letters is an event of capital importance in American scholarship. It enables us, for the first time, to see Emerson whole, to understand his private as well as his public character, to fix more exactly his relationship with his contemporaries and with the social and intellectual currents of his day. This elaborate documentation confirms the conclusion drawn from the *Journals* and the *Works* that Emerson is the focal figure in the intellectual history of nineteenth century America, that more fully than any other American of his time he represents the Puritan tradition and the romantic environment, the indigenous contribution and the foreign influences, social conservatism and philosophical radicalism, the democratic faith and the swirling reform activities which sought to implement it.

This, to be sure, is not new. We are not unfamiliar with Emerson's

significance nor with his contributions, and the *Journals* and *Works* and miscellaneous volumes of letters have long been the indispensable property of historians as well as of students of literature. These letters enlarge rather than change, elaborate and clarify rather than modify, the picture of Emerson which we already have. Yet this is true in general rather than in detail, and there are many things here that are quite new. It is with these that we are here concerned.

It is an altogether more humane and intimate Emerson who here reveals himself with such fullness and candor. The most substantial body of letters are to members of the family, to Lidian and to brother William, and they are filled with the amiable details of domesticity—news from the nursery, chores of householding, visits and festivities, the discoveries of travel so quickly stale. But in these family letters, too, Emerson confesses his character, and the student of that character will rely heavily on the new material here presented. These letters tell us little about Ellen Tucker, but it is clear that Emerson never again recaptured the passion of that first romance, and in his relations with Lidian there was that inadequacy of which Margaret Fuller complained. Emerson, too, knew what was lacking and lamented that he could not supply it. To Lidian he wrote: "You still ask me for that unwritten letter always due, it seems, always unwritten, from year to year, by me to you my dear Lidian,—I fear too more widely true than you mean—always due & unwritten by me to every sister & brother of the human race. . . . It must content you for the time, that I truly acknowledge a poverty of nature, & have really no proud defence at all to set up, but ill-health, puniness, and Stygian limitations." The same lament recurs in the letters to William, to Margaret Fuller, and, less frequently, to others.

It is not that Emerson lacked capacity for deep feeling or for an apprehension of evil, as has often been suggested; rather that capacity had been exhausted by successive blows of fate, and he had achieved a philosophic calm. The death of brother Charles had been a bitter blow, Emerson writing to his wife, "you must be content henceforth with only a piece of your husband"; the death of Waldo an unbearable loss, and Emerson confessed, "shall I ever dare to love anything again". And when Louisa Hawthorne was drowned he had no consolation to offer but "who knows which is the shortest & most excellent way out of the calamities of the present world".

Of special interest to students of literature are the revelations here of the sources of Emerson's philosophical ideas, their growth and expression, the wrestling with problems of style, the discovery of new literary talent. These were the natural subjects of correspondence, and these are most fully recorded. At the age of nineteen there were intimations of literary immortality, Emerson writing to that fabulous Aunt Mary: "I wonder how you can ever have linked a hope to the wayward destinies of thing like me, to

my dream-like anticipations of greatness." The anticipations remained dream-like, to be sure; years later there was a confession that "there are not many greater misfortunes to peace of mind than to have keen susceptibility to the beautiful in composition and just to lack that additional wit which suffices to create it". Emerson's talent was for individualism rather than for creative originality. In 1841 he presented his "quarrel with most of the verses I read . . . that it is a certain manner of writing agreed upon in society . . . but is not that new, constitutional unimitated and inimitable voice of the individual which poetry ought always to be". This is the Emerson who fifteen years later welcomed Whitman, and who, later still, labored painfully over the verses of Emma Lazarus.

Here, too, is new light on the genesis of the American Scholar, on the circumstances of the Divinity School Address and the attitude toward the furor which it aroused. Here is additional information on the Symposium or Hedge Club and the varied galaxy of men who rather fitfully attended its meetings. Here, above all, is the most complete record which we have of the *Dial*, that darling of the transcendentalists which so perfectly voiced their aspirations and their vagaries and so imperfectly their achievements. Emerson took his editorial duties seriously, and so, too, did Margaret Fuller, and the correspondence here supplements what Gohdes has given us. Emerson's relations with his contemporaries appear, too, in more matter-of-fact form than in the *Journals*: the endless generosity to Alcott, the curious enthusiasm for Hedge, the irritation with Parker, the polite but distant connection with the lions of Cambridge and Boston; the shift, later, from the Symposium to the Saturday Club was not altogether beneficial.

The record of Emerson's relations to the reform movements of his day, which can be read so amply in the *Journals* and the *Works*, is here a meager one. Emerson was the high priest of reform, but reluctantly. "I see movement, I hear aspirations, but I see not how the Great God prepares to satisfy the heart in a new order of things", he wrote. "A thousand negatives it utters clear & strong on all sides, but the sacred affirmative it hides in the deepest abyss." There is more to the same effect—animadversions on reformers, gentle fun at the expense of the transcendentalists, rejection of Brook Farm. Yet Emerson could not escape reform, and the slavery issue, among others, burst rudely into his Concord study, jolting him out of his customary equanimity.

By all odds the most important series of letters are those to Margaret Fuller, the "divine mermaid or fisher of men, to whom all gods have given the witch-hazel-wand . . . which detects an Immortal under every disguise in every lurking place". Her wand had detected Emerson, and she was relentless, and Emerson responded grudgingly rather than enthusiastically. There are over one hundred of Emerson's letters here, with many of the replies conveniently snuggled into the footnotes, and the record is remark-

ably complete. It is a thrice-told tale and not without its humorous qualities: how Margaret demanded friendship and how Emerson could give only qualified response; in the end they were writing letters from different rooms in the same house, Margaret insistent and indefatigable, Emerson patient and acquiescent. Yet for all Emerson's reluctance, Margaret had the talent to bring him out, and his letters to her are perhaps the most revealing of all those that he wrote. With others—Caroline Sturgis or Elizabeth Hoar—he was happier, but Margaret was implacable, and the result is an invaluable spiritual record.

With Margaret Fuller's death something went out of Emerson; never thereafter did he give so freely of himself to any correspondent. The letters after 1850, indeed, are distinctly less interesting than those of earlier years. The explanation is not difficult. In part it was that Emerson was aging, his powers waning, his interests flagging; in part it was that he no longer responded to his environment. He had been the ideal spokesman of the age of romanticism and reform, but the nation that came into being in the Civil War and postwar years knew him as a relic of something distant and past, an institution, not a living voice. The letters of the last twenty years are filled with the trivia of social relationships, not with the stuff of intellectual revolution.

Professor Rusk's editorial achievement begs praise. He has printed here over two thousand letters never before published, identified over a thousand others apparently lost, noted additional hundreds which have appeared elsewhere. Elaborate notes identify every person, place, and event, analyze every disputed problem, explain every reference, add numerous letters received by Emerson, and provide editorial criticism often extensive in character. The text of the letters is presented with scrupulous exactness, and corrections reveal the shocking defects of earlier publications. The whole collection is prefaced by a long and learned introductory essay, particularly valuable for its re-examination of the literary sources of Emerson's philosophy, and an exhaustive index of some three hundred pages facilitates the task of the student. The Columbia University Press has co-operated by presenting the volumes in handsome format.

Two tasks remain. The first is a new edition of Emerson's *Journals*, comprehensive and exact; the second a biography which shall fill one of the notorious gaps in our historical literature. It is clear that Professor Rusk is admirably equipped to perform these tasks.

Columbia University.

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER.

Abraham Lincoln: The War Years. By CARL SANDBURG. In four volumes. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1939. Pp. xxxi, 660; xii, 655; xiii, 673; xii, 515. \$20.00.)

To a task of heroic proportions Carl Sandburg has brought his own

type of fitness. This fitness is to be assessed in terms of a rare feeling for Lincoln, a life absorption in the subject, a burning desire to produce the saga, a Marathon-like endurance over decades of prodigious labor, a poet's sense of language, a flair for pithy phrasing, a robust personality spiced with the tang of the prairies, and an ability to combine realistic detail with emotional appreciation. On the score of sheer industry the work is impressive indeed. By word-count Sandburg's six volumes, the *Prairie Years* with the *War Years*, are considerably longer than Nicolay and Hay's ten volumes. What we have before us is the world's longest life of Lincoln.

The charm of these volumes is seen in numerous bits and flashes. Sumner "sprawled in puddles of the ridiculous and the asinine" (IV, 76). Stanton "knew the Constitution and the price of eggs and was solemn about both" (I, 445). Gurowski was "a studied croaker" (II, 4). "John B. Floyd was in limboland" (II, 529). "Butler . . . 'could strut sitting down'" (IV, 25). Thaddeus Stevens was "a gnarled thorn-tree of a man" (I, 392). Grant's face showed "economy of expression" (I, 463). There are hundreds of such scintillations throughout the work, and there are remarkably vivid characterizations of *personae* in the drama—of Wade, Stevens, Sumner, Andrew Johnson (who is treated sympathetically), Greeley, Dana, Bennett, and indeed virtually all the leading men and women, and minor ones too, on both sides. Sandburg's pen could not rest until he had produced a life and times *in extenso* and a national portrait gallery as well. Where the gifted poet-journalist makes his unique literary contribution in flashes such as these, the volumes are at their best. It is quite consistent with this appreciation of good writing for the present reviewer to say, though it may be only one man's opinion, that the whole work would have gained much and have lost little if it had been reduced to one half of its present length. The literary form is, like some languages, agglutinative rather than inflected, discursive rather than compact. At the beginning (I, 8 ff.) a huge panorama of America takes the form of scores of phrases precariously cemented with a kind of semicolon glue. This passage is, for its sort, handled well; but in general the unexampled length of the work is achieved by piling Pelion on Ossa. Seldom do we have sustained exposition or a comprehensive essay style wherein details find their place in an integrated pattern. Nor do we have narrative so much as a catalogue of quotations with numerous repetitions.

The work is a kind of gargantuan Civil War omnibus. Except for the exalted literature of the fourth volume, it is a bit difficult to speak of the author's style when so much is quotation. At one point gleanings from Julia Taft Bayne's book are put in, at another sheaves of Carpenter's *Six Months*, at many places reminiscences by various men long ago collected and edited by Allen Thorndike Rice, and so on. Quotations are usually given at length and in serried array, whether they be speeches, letters, congressional

debates, recollections, editorials, public documents, or what not. Some of the long documents are given entire. Much of the work is not about Lincoln. All sorts of subjects are treated. In the multiplicity of inserted passages we have not so much an interweaving as a throwing together. Sentences sometimes read like notes; chapters seem mere accumulations of clippings. Skillful writing there is, but it appears not so much in broad composition as in a kind of scattering of small jewels. Chunks, nuggets, and huge blocks have been collected from everywhere; whole pages have been taken from books; these have been tossed into baskets and the baskets handed to the reader. Chapter 40 (II, 207-333), "The Man in the White House", is a book in itself; it is more than half the length of N. W. Stephenson's *Lincoln*. Chapter 45 (II, 477 ff.) flits nimbly over a staggering variety of topics from Lincoln's varioloid to the statue atop the capitol dome; the sizable basket into which all this is thrown is "Epic '63 Draws to a Close". Adjectives are sometimes a bit obvious, as "rolling prairies", "checkered domain", or "seven seas". At times the historical present gets mixed up with quoted passages in the past tense, but as to this Sandburg does not seem to care. His charm lies in making his own rules or in not having any. To pass judgment on this work as history is no simple matter. There has been long and painstaking search, and it is not often that the author stumbles badly into an amateur's pitfall. He has historical appreciation, and his work is honestly done. He even cautions the reader as to the authenticity of some of the inserted passages, and if there has been a newspaper hoax, he is aware of it though less informed writers would be misled. His bibliographical essay at the beginning is well done and is the better for a kind of oblique comment and playful humor. Yet historianship in the full sense is lacking. Along with a complete absence of footnote citations there is in the text a vague and unsatisfying half-mention of sources. Sometimes the author is mentioned, but seldom the title of a book; a newspaper perhaps, but not the date. Often no source at all is indicated. It requires a specialist to determine where the material has been found. This is maddening to the inquiring student to whom a bit of evidence is worthless until it is traced; what is more, this lack of citation promotes an indiscriminating use of material and relieves the author of the necessity of checking, rechecking, and testing. Nor is it true that freedom from citation is essential to good writing; Claude Bowers, for example, rises to a high literary standard while annotating fully. One would hardly turn to Sandburg's pages for historical analysis, for sifting and evaluation, for conclusions distilled from masses of evidence, or for the settlement of disputed or doubtful points. On the Sumter question, for instance, there is length and elaborateness but no assaying of conflicting testimony as to the controversial question whether Lincoln's course was deliberately provocative. In the absence of a careful digesting of evidence, including indications of Lincoln's nonprovocative conduct, the references to

"war challenge", to "a Chip on the Shoulder", and to the choice of "one immediate war" (I, 206, 211) seem hardly more than phrasemaking.

It is in no sense a serious indictment to say so, but it may be said with confidence that in the now completed six volumes of this biography the Lincoln theme is far from exhausted. Since the *Prairie Years* appeared in 1926 many important contributions have been made on the prepresidential phase; in that work the large mass of Herndon manuscripts was not used. The defects of that earlier and poetically beautiful work need not be mentioned here. For the *War Years* there are unpublished source collections that have been neglected, and there is many a situation calling for more penetrating analysis and interpretation. Published material has been extensively used and much of it reprinted (reminiscences, diaries, etc.), but available manuscript deposits have not been adequately searched, and scholars' monographs on special subjects have often been overlooked. All this over and above the fact that the main body of Lincoln Papers now in the Library of Congress is sealed to investigators, while other manuscript sources are under restriction as to use. Sandburg does offer a shining exception to the generalization that as a rule Lincoln biographers since Nicolay and Hay have given us little on the presidency. The further generalization, however, that nearly all the biographers of Lincoln have been other than historians, still holds.

In a work so voluminous it may be difficult to judge the percentage of error in proportion to a reasonable tolerance. Mistakes of quotation are numerous. The meaningless word "authorships" in the fourth line of the inserted Lincoln letter of July 18, 1861 (I, 373) should read "auditorships"; Nicolay and Hay make the same error. Apropos of the cabinet discussion of September 2, 1862, concerning the somewhat equivocal command given to McClellan before Antietam, Sandburg states that Lincoln "told his advisers that he [Lincoln] was ready to quit his job; that he would gladly resign" (I, 543); this is attributed to Chase's diary of that date. In the best printed text of the diary (*Annual Report*, American Historical Association, 1902, II, 65) Chase's words are that the President said "he would gladly resign his plan", not his "place", as it has sometimes been read. The manuscript of the diary for this date, now in the Library of Congress, is in the handwriting of a clerk, not that of Chase, and it is somewhat inconclusive; yet careful scholars, considering all the factors, have been inclined to accept "plan" as the better reading. The point is that on a topic so sensational as the President quitting his job the reader is not made aware of the doubtful nature of the evidence as given. Montgomery Blair should have been mentioned as of Maryland, not "of Missouri" (picture facing I, 145). The slave trade was not "outlawed by the United States Constitution" (I, 5). Kansas in 1861 had not been knocking twelve years for statehood (I, 14). Douglas did not join in buying Florida from Spain (I, 15). That the forts in early 1861 were all lost but two is not strictly correct (I, 30). Lincoln in February,

1861, did not cross New York "from east to west" (I, 53). Where "8,000 miles of seacoast" are mentioned apropos of the blockade, the intended statement was probably 3,000 (I, 227). Miss Tarbell has refuted the story that the raw captain whom W. C. Bryant met at the time of the Black Hawk War was Lincoln (II, 495). Not only were parts of Virginia and Louisiana omitted from the Emancipation Proclamation but also the whole of Tennessee (II, 15). The solecism "défi" (II, 69, bottom) is hard to classify except as journalese. "Nat Tyler insurrection" is an obvious slip for Nat Turner (II, 505). The statement that the Democratic party had controlled the United States government for thirty years prior to 1860 (III, 228) ignores two Whig elections; if brief non-Democratic intervals are overlooked and the broad continuity of the party from Jefferson's time is remembered, one might as well have said sixty years.

The characterization of Greeley and Garrison as "one an opponent, the other a supporter, of Lincoln" is very doubtful (II, 117, picture). "Charles Janeway Stille" should read "Stillé" (II, 202). Instead of "200,000 free Negroes of the North" there were considerably over 300,000 if one includes the border Union states (II, 181). The reference to "100,000,000 greenbacks" is a considerable understatement (II, 192). "Lessovski" should read "Lisovskii" (II, 521). When, in its earlier stages, the antislavery amendment was defeated in the House, the nays were 65, not 64 (III, 99). The Democratic contribution in finally passing the amendment was more than a matter of eight members staying away; the amendment would not have carried but for affirmative Democratic votes (IV, 13). Wilmington was not the "last open port of the Confederacy" if that means the last to surrender; Galveston and Charleston still remained (IV, 23). The equine illustration in the house in which Lincoln died was not Rosa Bonheur's "Horse Fair" (IV, 289).

There are contradictions as to how Early treated the houses of the Blairs at Silver Spring, Maryland, during his raid of July, 1864. In Sandburg's third volume it is stated on page 139 that Early's men "seized . . . papers . . . in the homes of Postmaster General Blair and Old Man Blair, and then set the houses afire" and on page 148 that "they saved the home of Old Man Blair . . . but the house of Monty Blair they . . . burned" (this is correct); on page 150 there are references to the "burning of the Blair homes" and "the Blair houses afire". By a typographical slip in the index (IV, 508) Zebulon Vance is given as governor of South Carolina, though the text has it correctly as North Carolina. The lady referred to as "Mrs. Baxter of Baltimore" (I, 326) was Mrs. Catherine Virginia Baxley, a Confederate spy. Stephen T. Logan was not Lincoln's "first law partner" (I, 94). Trumbull was elected to the Senate in 1855, not 1856 (I, 390). Methodists need have no qualms about the statement that a loan by Lincoln to "the M. E. Church" was later marked worthless; the loan was to Mr. M. B. Church (IV, 122).

The War Years has appeared in three forms: an edition de luxe and two printings of the regular edition. In the second printing of the latter, used in this review, a few of the original errors (but only very few and none of those referred to above) have been corrected. This estimate, however, should not close on a note of format or of error picking. A monumental task has been impressively performed. There are hundreds of well-selected illustrations. Voluminous and costly as they are, these volumes will be read, and many readers will derive from them, some perhaps for the first time, a wide familiarity with events, personalities, and conditions in the Civil War. One is deeply moved by the peculiarly Sandburgian eloquence of the fourth volume, especially the threnody of Lincoln's death and burial. Sandburg did not write for historians but for the general reader. He has completed the voyage on which he courageously embarked twenty years ago. There will be thousands who, in thinking of Lincoln, will inevitably think of Sandburg.

University of Illinois.

J. G. RANDALL.

The South to Posterity: An Introduction to the Writing of Confederate History. By DOUGLAS SOUTHBALL FREEMAN. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1939. Pp. xii, 235. \$2.50.)

No one familiar with Dr. Freeman's way of life and work for more than a quarter of a century and with the results would be inclined to doubt either his capacity or his peculiar fitness to prepare a bibliography of the history of the Confederacy. No one as a matter of fact is better equipped for the task. There are bibliographies and bibliographies—and Dr. Freeman's bibliography.

For out of the richness of his knowledge he has produced something unique in the way of a guide to reading. It is unique in form and approach, so much so that a dry-as-dust librarian would doubtless refuse it the classification I have given it. It is also unique in another respect; it is entirely painless. The ordinary bibliography or guide, however useful and even necessary, is not a joy for its own sake. Dr. Freeman's book, a series of nine cognate essays, is a delightful thing in itself.

He is perhaps right when he modestly describes it as a mere introduction to the subject, for of course there are some thousands of works, with many of which he is perfectly familiar, which he does not mention. But those who use the book as a definite guide to Confederate history, rather than a pleasurable journey into that field, will find that they have been introduced to the best work on the subject, appraised with just and balanced judgment founded upon ripe knowledge. I know of no other work of the kind that can compare to it in either respect.

The chapter titles are highly illuminating as to subject: "Punctuated by Gunfire", "Writing in the Ashes", "The Passing of the Great Captain",

"Controversy and Apologia", "The Appeal to the Records", "The War Through Women's Eyes", "The Later Foreign View", "The Glamour Gathers", "Yet to be Written".

Dr. Freeman makes a telling point in his incidental statement that Confederate history is most persuasive where the author had the least intention of making it so. The many works of defense leave the reader of today cold. Semmes is far more appealing than Longstreet, E. P. Alexander than Hood, Mrs. Chestnut perhaps more than any of them.

Dr. Freeman justifies his title by his conclusion, "The Petition of the South to Posterity":

That there was historical logic in the right of secession, though rising nationalism might challenge; that the right was maintained with conviction; that the South fought its fight gallantly and, so far as war ever permits, with fairness and decency; that it endured its hardships with fortitude; that it wrought its hard recovery through uncomplaining toil, and that it gave to the nation the inspiration of personalities, humble and exalted, who met the supreme test and did not falter. If, again, on the crowded order-book of time, this be too long an entry, then the South amends its petition. It asks the final tribunal to read again the testimony of Alexander Haskell, to consider Phoebe Pember in Chimborazo Hospital, to hear the death-bed witness of Stonewall Jackson, to recall Robert Lee to the stand on his resignation from the Army, on Gettysburg and Appomattox, and then to write across the record, *Character is Confirmed*.

The University of North Carolina. J. G. DE ROULHAC HAMILTON.

Statesmen of the Lost Cause: Jefferson Davis and his Cabinet. By BURTON J. HENDRICK. [An Atlantic Monthly Press Publication.] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1939. Pp. xvii, 452. \$3.75.)

THROUGHOUT almost the entire period of 1861-65 and until Jefferson Davis was imprisoned and put in irons, he was accused by many Southerners of almost every political crime. Contrary to what might have been expected in war time, some of the most bitter attacks came from Davis's fellow officials and former cabinet colleagues, such as Vice President Alexander H. Stephens, former Secretary of State Robert Toombs, Governor Joseph E. Brown of Georgia, and Governor Zebulon C. Vance of North Carolina.

Many theories have been advanced to explain the internal strife of the Davis administration, but it is a remarkable fact that there has not yet appeared a definitive study of the relations between the Confederate president and the seventeen men who at various times held the six cabinet posts of the Confederacy. Until basic facts are gathered out of the vast primary source materials awaiting examination, there can be no complete evaluation of the civil leadership of the Confederacy. A notable investigation of these problems has been made, however, in this volume by Dr. Hendrick, winner of three Pulitzer prizes. His achievement in the field of letters indicated that

this, his latest work, would possess unusual quality. It is not surprising, therefore, to note that this fascinating blend of biography and historical narrative was the Literary Guild selection for last December and that it has been listed several times since then among "best sellers".

Dr. Hendrick's thesis is that the decisive factors in the loss of the Confederate cause were the application of the principle of state rights and the incompetence of the statesmen who, in large part, came from the aggressive, newly developed cotton belt of the lower South. Those who hold theories similar to this should bear in mind that any analysis of the Davis administration will always, consciously or unconsciously, subject it to an unfavorable comparison with that of Lincoln, the serious conflicts in whose cabinet have been largely obscured by the triumph of the Union.

The principal value of this book lies in the author's vivid treatment of Confederate diplomacy and his superb portraiture of Confederate leaders. The *London Morning Post* of May 27, 1865, predicted that these statesmen would be prevented by defeat from assuming their rightful place in history. Dr. Hendrick's biographical sketches will doubtless do much to revive interest in them and rescue them from the oblivion which has long delayed a serious consideration of their careers. He has, however, unfortunately omitted George A. Trenholm, second secretary of the treasury, who, although scarcely known today beyond the confines of his native South Carolina, played an important part in the running of the blockade and in the financial structure of the Confederacy. The author's statement that "no adequate biography of Benjamin will probably ever be produced" (p. 158) because of his mania for destroying his correspondence and papers, is open to question in view of the existence of a mass of unpublished Benjamin material, including a large number of valuable business and personal letters. Supplemented by published war records and periodical data, they provide ample sources for a critical biography of a man who was probably the ablest of Confederate statesmen. Inasmuch as Dr. Hendrick has gone beyond the scope of his title and treated leaders not in the cabinet, another omission should be noted, that of Edmund Kirby Smith. In addition to his services as a general he occupied a far more significant position during half the war period as the benevolent dictator of a co-ordinate Confederacy, the extensive Trans-Mississippi Department.

Unsupported statements and debatable generalizations are found on pages 55, 96, 116, 185, 186, 389, and 431. The emphasis on foreign relations is well placed except that no mention is made of the deeper peace factors that controlled English neutrality, such as those vested interests which regarded war with the Union as extremely detrimental to England's commerce and merchant marine. Conspicuously absent from the bibliography is the most outstanding recent reinterpretation of this tragic period, J. G. Randall's *Civil War and Reconstruction*. A thorough use of leading Confederate

newspapers and other primary source material indispensable for an objective interpretation of Confederate statesmanship would have made possible a contribution to historical scholarship in keeping with the high literary merit of this book.

Although these defects and a number of minor errors detract from the value of *Statesmen of the Lost Cause*, it is a distinguished contribution to literature on the Confederacy. A brief but helpful chronology for 1860-65, a complete index, and twenty-five illustrations, combined with the skill of Little, Brown and Company, add to its usefulness, which deserves to be wide and permanent.

Rollins College.

A. J. HANNA.

The Baltimore and Ohio in the Civil War. By FESTUS P. SUMMERS, Associate Professor of History, West Virginia University. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1939. Pp. xii, 304. \$3.00.)

ALTHOUGH the role played by the railroad in the military operations of the Civil War has long been appreciated, this is the first adequate account of any important line within the military zone. It is a valuable contribution to a neglected phase of the history of the period and should lead to similar studies of other roads in both the North and the Confederacy.

Before the war opened, the Baltimore and Ohio had extended its lines to two points on the Ohio River where it connected with other lines to Cincinnati and Columbus. It had built up a competent and experienced personnel with an able and aggressive president in John W. Garrett, and it occupied a strategic position in that it was the only railroad which connected Washington with the North and West. Garrett and the other directors had been Southern in sympathy, but the exigencies of war and politics soon forced them to support the Union cause.

The officials of the road faced two very difficult problems: to win the good will of the suspicious Lincoln administration and to keep the line in efficient operation along the unstable military frontier. Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, was personally interested in a rival line and was distinctly unfriendly. He threw government business to his own and other roads, and he procured the passage by Congress of the act of January 31, 1862, which authorized the President to seize and operate any railroad or telegraph line, a measure aimed at the B. & O. Later he instigated bills in Congress to promote the building of other lines into Washington from Baltimore and the West which Garrett had much trouble in defeating. After Stanton replaced Cameron, however, there was no hostility in the War Department.

Keeping the line open to the Ohio was even more difficult. It was easy to attack, hard to defend. The Confederates, well aware of its importance as a supply line to Washington and the Union armies, broke it again and

again, destroying long sections of track, bridges, stations, cars, engines, and other equipment. The rapidity with which it was always repaired and reopened was remarkable though not unique in the railroad history of the period. The value of the road in military strategy had its most spectacular demonstration in the fall of 1863, when more than 20,000 men with their equipment were transported from Washington to reinforce the Union army in Chattanooga. Professor Summers thinks it was this operation which finally convinced army officers of the utility of railroads in war. A very interesting chapter reveals that it was the desire to keep this outlet for the people of the new state of West Virginia in loyal hands which was the chief reason for the inclusion of the counties of the lower Shenandoah Valley in that state.

The book has a number of interesting illustrations and is well supplied with maps, but a few places mentioned in the text are not found on the maps. The author has made extensive use of manuscript as well as other primary sources and has prepared an excellent bibliography and a good index.

The University of Texas.

CHARLES W. RAMSDELL.

Joseph E. Brown and the Confederacy. By LOUISE BILES HILL. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1939. Pp. viii, 360. \$3.50.)

It used to be said in the hills of North Georgia that no matter how deep or wide the gully, Joe Brown could always jump it and land feet down and head up. In some sort Dr. Hill's book is a historical documentation of the foregoing bit of folkish wisdom concerning Georgia's "war governor". Long ago Georgians agreed, rightly or wrongly, to place Bob Toombs, Alex Stephens, Howell Cobb, and numerous lesser lights of the Civil War period in her hall of fame—but not Brown. No oil painting of him adorns the walls of the State House, no county has been named for him, and the monument to his memory in Atlanta was paid for not by popular subscription but by members of his own family. Yet in most respects Brown is the outstanding "success" among all Georgia statesmen.

Reared in the nonplantation area of North Georgia and educated by his own efforts, Brown began his political career in 1849 when he was elected to the state senate. From this time onward his life may be divided into four parts: to 1861; 1861 to 1866; 1866 to 1872; 1872 to 1894. During the first period he represented, as legislator, judge, and governor, the extreme state rights and secessionist views of the slaveholding population but without sacrificing the confidence of his North Georgia small farmer constituents. During the war period he continued as governor, assumed an even more state rights attitude toward the Confederacy than he had ever done toward the United States, quarreled incessantly with Davis, Seddon, and other Confederate officials over taxation, conscription, use of state troops, and

equipment. In general he did more injury to the Confederate cause than a number of Union army divisions.

The chief purpose of Dr. Hill's researches is to discover whether Brown's conduct constituted treason to the Confederacy. Inferentially, but not categorically, she would say that it did. In support of this view she gives a brief history of Brown's career during the Reconstruction and "Bourbon" eras. In the former Brown appears to have been the chief power behind and beneficiary of the Radical government in Georgia. His private fortune increased with amazing rapidity and for the most part from deals to which the state was directly or indirectly a party. In 1872, when the Radicals had been overthrown in Georgia, Brown went back to the Democratic party, or rather, as he said, by its "new departure" it came back to him. From this time on to his death in 1894, when he was regarded as the richest man in the state, he was perhaps the greatest power in the miscalled "Bourbon Democracy" of Georgia. About all that can be said for the latter part of Dr. Hill's book, however, is that it proves that Brown was anti-Confederate, but only in a sentimental or traditional sense. One could hardly be traitorous to a government which no longer existed. While not germane to her primary purpose, these latter chapters are a distinct contribution to an evergrowing library of biographical studies in political and business astuteness. As such they deserve the attention of the student of practical politics.

*Woman's College of the
University of North Carolina.*

B. B. KENDRICK.

Mr. Justice Miller and the Supreme Court, 1862-1890. By CHARLES FAIRMAN.
(Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1939. Pp. vii, 456. \$4.50.)

SAMUEL F. Miller is generally recognized as one of the greatest constitutional philosophers in American history. This long overdue study, therefore, will be welcomed by all who are interested in American development. Those who are acquainted, however, with the well-known contributions of this great jurist may be disappointed at the career as sketched here.

A half-dozen sentences account for the background of the Miller and Freeman families, and only thirty-eight pages are devoted to Miller's life before he went on the bench. During this period he studied medicine at Transylvania University, organized a frontier debating society in Barbourville, Kentucky, studied law and became a justice of the peace, practiced law in Iowa, ran for state senator, organized Republican clubs, and campaigned for the nomination for governor of the state. In comparison, eighteen pages are devoted to the oft-told story of Caleb Cushing's nomination for Chief Justice, many more to Miller's attempt to secure a judicial appointment for his brother-in-law Ballinger, and an undue proportion to the Hayes-Tilden controversy.

There are numerous technical defects in the volume, for example, the

statement that the Meyer case "went off" on points of statutory construction (p. 157), that Marshall had "laid it down" in *Brown v. Maryland* (p. 317), that the justices held the case of the *United States v. Lee* "to fall". In addition there is a slightly incorrect quotation from Marshall (p. 161), an inadequate statement of the holding in *Kohl v. United States* (p. 168), confusion in ideas, premature conclusions, and a weak attempt to excuse the attitude of Miller and the *Washington Chronicle*, published by his son-in-law, Col. Corkhill, in Miller's scandalous campaign for the Chief Justice-ship (p. 275).

Miller is represented as a critic of Chase's Legal Tender decision because the Chief Justice confused desirability with power, yet Miller in his dissent used the same kind of "policy" reasoning. Chase is criticized for relying upon the "spirit" of the Constitution, yet Miller, of all judges, was the great proponent of that method of construction, as evidenced by *Crandall v. Nevada* and *Loan Association v. Topeka*. His narrow interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment is dismissed with the observation that he saw in the tendency of wide interpretation "a menace to the vigor of the federal system and struggled against it" (p. 61). Yet he is pictured throughout the volume as a nationalist. He is shown as one opposed to those elements which would make the judiciary a "haven of refuge for all corporations" (p. 61), but the Bowman case, Miller concurring, which is not mentioned, and his great opinion in the Wabash case, discussed in four sentences (p. 314), both definitely afforded this "haven of refuge". He sought to "square the law with justice", yet there is no mention of the fact that he joined three colleagues in a dissent which would have given judicial sanction to legalized robbery in the notorious Virginia bond scandal (*Poindexter v. Greenhow*, 114 U. S. 270 [1885]).

Worthwhile contributions, however, are discovered here. Many great cases, such as the Legal Tender cases, are well discussed, and Miller's correspondence shows interesting struggles in conference over them. His view of some of his aged brethren is a valuable contribution to the literature on retirement. "Judge Clifford . . . did not know me nor anything . . . his mind is a wreck . . ." (p. 378). In spite of this "mental decay", Mr. Fairman strangely enough agrees with Clifford's biographer that Judge Clifford's determination to hang on until a Democratic president could choose his successor was a "considerable factor" (P. G. Clifford, *Nation Clifford, Democrat*, 1922).

It is inevitable that no two persons will agree upon the importance of events and cases, but it is regrettable that the author did not enlarge in numerous places upon the significance of Miller's great decisions. Particular cases are emphasized, while important trends in constitutional law are neglected. With access to valuable records, the author approaches timidly one who, in twelve years, bridged the gap which separates a frontier physi-

cian from the Supreme Court of the United States. As a sketch of the career of a brilliant jurist, unlearned in the law but nevertheless a great philosopher, the book lacks the sparkle, drama, and romance it might have had in view of the play of social forces which characterized the postwar period. As a history of the Supreme Court during thirty stirring years it has its limitations.

University of Kansas City.

BRUCE R. TRIMBLE.

J. Pierpont Morgan: An Intimate Portrait. By HERBERT L. SATTERLEE. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1939. Pp. xvi, 595. \$3.75.)

Only a few weeks after the publication of this biography, the firm of J. P. Morgan and Company announced their decision to incorporate under state law. Thus America's most famous old-line private banking house joined the world procession of partnerships which in recent years have become corporations because of restrictive legislation. The old era of individualism, under which Rothschilds and Morgans had the responsibilities and the profits of international financing, has terminated.

J. Pierpont Morgan, whose life spanned the years 1837-1913, was perhaps the greatest individualist of them all by reason of opportunity, heritage, and temperament. Historians are indebted to his son-in-law for securing (shortly before Mr. Morgan's death) his consent to an enlistment of family co-operation for "an intimate portrait". Mr. Satterlee has preserved a record of goings and comings and a body of family reminiscence which might otherwise have been lost. He has also preserved a point of view, for this is a chronicle of life as arranged in the limited circle of the extremely wealthy. Unfortunately, Mrs. Morgan's participation in it seldom appears. Since the author usually avoids interpretation, readers must seek understanding of the financier through the chronicle and through occasional statements of attitude.

This biography may well be called a "period piece". It contains references to many of the ways in which the America of that epoch tempted and rewarded speculation; it suggests something of the emerging realization that co-operative planning must displace chaotic competition in business; reading it, one easily sees how a financier of Morgan's type and generation could indulge his regnant masterfulness while remaining meanwhile a romantic aristocrat; one learns a little about the patron in religion, more about the patron in art. When Morgan, individually, injected European art treasures into the experience of visitors to the Metropolitan Museum, he exerted, possibly, as much influence upon American life as when he, with others, formed the United States Steel Corporation.

Except for a few episodes like the Hall Carbine affair, the gold purchases of 1895, the coal strike of 1902, and the panic of 1907, this biography makes "only casual mention" (p. 261) of the business affairs which en-

grossed Morgan's abilities in his prime. To his political influence there are numerous references, but again exasperatingly casual. Students eager for full details on the "re-Morganization" (p. 416) of the railroads, on international finance, on the battle-royal between Morgan and Harriman, must search elsewhere. Their wishes here are overruled by a writer who rigorously holds to the patternless pattern of strict chronology, although his subject was distinguished for his devotion to orderly patterns. Mr. Morgan nearly attained omnipotence by exploiting the opportunities of his prime; he was in turn exploited by the politicians, press, and people of his old age. He resented deeply the prying into what he always considered strictly private affairs. So, in 1911, he personally unlocked and consigned to the flames that invaluable body of source material on American business—his long, confidential, biweekly letters to his father, covering the expansive years 1857-1890. Few historical destructions have been more regrettable. Mr. Morgan, himself, has made it impossible for any biographer to reproduce his pattern—to do him justice, in full.

Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

JEANNETTE PADDOCK NICHOLS.

The Log Book of a Young Immigrant. By LAURENCE M. LARSON. (Northfield: Norwegian-American Historical Association. 1939. Pp. vii, 318. \$3.00.)

"THIS volume, true to the promise of its title, is the chronicle of a voyage and a record of achievement." These are the words of the preface. Items familiar in the stories of individual immigrants are present, but Professor Larson's story is enriched by the record of achievements that elevated him to positions of honor and trust in community, church, state, and scholarship. The *Log Book* differs from narratives written by other immigrants in that Professor Larson's trained pen gives it a graceful style, and his historical training makes him conscious of the forces that impelled his parents to embark on the great adventure that brought him to the adopted country, whose destiny unfolded before his eyes. The *gemütlichkeit*, tolerance, catholicity, kindness, critical discernment, and rugged honesty of the author make it easy to identify him as the professor of history who won the confidence of his associates and who endeared himself to his friends.

After taking account of the hardships and discomforts of the transatlantic voyage and of the overland journey that brought the Larson family to Iowa, the story takes its beginning in Winnebago County, which was originally settled by people of native American stock but which at the close of the century had a Norwegian population that constituted four fifths of the total. Here the youth and young man lived close to nature, shared the hardships of the frontier, and observed the ways and manners of the Norwegian pioneers—all of which he relates with charming seriousness and

humor. The isolated little dugout, which was his first American home, was not allowed to remain in solitude for long. Neighbors came in covered wagons, and the community became a "garden almost entirely filled with plants of a foreign culture". Larson's account of the orientation of the immigrants to the American environment has the intimate touches of one whose later life caused his experiences to take on meanings that were not understood by those who shared them.

About one half of the book is given to the author's life in the Norwegian settlement, which included teaching in the public schools. The remaining pages span the years that began with enrollment in Drake University and ended with a professorship in the University of Illinois. The record and observations of the undergraduate are no less interesting than are those of the graduate student at the University of Wisconsin, where he came in contact with two scholars who preceded him in the presidency of the American Historical Association—Frederick Jackson Turner and Charles Homer Haskins.

It is the mature and modest scholar who did not live to deliver the presidential address at Chicago in December, 1938, who wrote this erudite volume, no less than the man who was known to his friends as the embodiment of American optimism, fair play, and independence.

A list of Professor Larson's writings is appended. The format of the book is excellent, and the index is satisfactory.

The University of Minnesota.

GEORGE M. STEPHENSON.

The German-Americans in Politics, 1914-1917. By CLIFTON JAMES CHILD. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1939. Pp. iv, 193. \$2.00.)

MINORITIES in the United States usually have a much easier time than they do in European countries. The theory of the basic equality of man has made this true. There have been times, however, when religious, racial, or national groups have found themselves the target of public disapproval. The German-Americans during the World War were in such a position.

Mr. Child has here made a study of one of the organizations of this minority group—the National German-American Alliance. He is particularly interested in the accusation that they were unpatriotic and received their inspiration from abroad. He very soon found that this society was subsidized—but by American brewers, not by the German government. He also makes it clear that although the sympathies of its members were with Germany in the war, the group was distinctly a product of American conditions.

Considerable attention is given to the Alliance's fight against the munitions trade, but primarily the story turns upon the conflict between the Alliance and Woodrow Wilson, especially in regard to the election of 1916. Here the struggle between the pro-Ally Americans and the pro-German

Americans culminated, and the friends of Germany were defeated. The attack upon the German-Americans as "hyphenates" is characterized by Mr. Child as a not "altogether creditable chapter of American history". He states: "for the most part one cannot escape the conclusion that it was just good politics, that its chief purpose was to discredit the German-Americans in view of the part which they were bound to play in the election of 1916".

This study again brings out the numerous political stupidities committed by German-Americans. Mr. Hexamer and his friends certainly did a great deal to encourage people to attack them. And yet most of the hatred was a natural product of events in Europe. The years of the World War were very difficult ones for Americans of German origin or descent. Most nationals, even if they have adopted a new allegiance, would hesitate to make war against the land of their birth. This many German-Americans had to do.

Mr. Child's story of this particular German-American organization is a thoughtful and fair treatment—a worthwhile addition to the history of the period. It must not be taken, however, to be the complete story of German-Americans in the World War or even in the election of 1916.

The University of Oklahoma.

H. C. PETERSON.

Words that won the War: The Story of the Committee on Public Information, 1917-1919. By JAMES R. MOCK and CEDRIC LARSON. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1939. Pp. xvi, 372. \$3.75.)

PROPAGANDA is now classed among munitions of war, and there has been the same rapid technical improvement in its manufacture as in the making of airplanes, poison gas, and high explosives. One of the great landmarks in the wartime use of official propaganda was the establishment of the Committee on Public Information under George Creel in 1917. This was an attempt on the part of the Wilson administration to advertise the war aims of the United States to American citizens, to alien residents, and to allies, neutrals, and enemies abroad, so that the war effort would be unimpeded and peace with victory soon established. All the resources of the great American industry of advertisement were called on: oratory, the press, the "four minute men" in the theaters (whose work would now, the authors believe, largely be taken over by the radio), the motion picture films, the special appeals to the foreign born by leaders who spoke their tongue. Artists designed posters, and scholars issued tracts for the times. The records of all this activity are enshrined in the National Archives, and an intensive study of this mountainous material has provided Mr. Mock and Mr. Larson with their book.

Nothing is extenuated and naught set down in malice. The authors have surveyed the whole range of American propaganda effort, noting errors,

pointing out inconsistencies, but recognizing good faith, efficiency, and achievement where they could be found. On the whole, they are of the opinion that the United States was very fortunate that this mighty and dangerous weapon of war propaganda was in the hands of humane and scrupulous men, such as Mr. Creel, Dean Ford, and President Wilson. "The more complete one's knowledge of wartime history the more certain does it become that there was appreciably more press freedom in the United States than in the warring nations of Europe. . . . The CPI was naturally used to the advancement of Mr. Wilson's ideas, but in the narrower sense of seeking aggrandizement for the Administration's political party George Creel's committee has a remarkably clear record" (pp. 46-47). Again, "Dean Ford was amazingly successful in avoiding 'civic shell shock', and the proof may be found in the dozens of manuscripts which would have given effective support to the war but which represented a degree of hate and intolerance and hysteria which he refused to sanction. They remain in the CPI files to this day when they might under some other leadership, have found their way into print" (p. 186). If there should be a "next time", will there be even this much of restraint? The reader uneasily wonders.

The University of Michigan.

PRESTON SLOSSON.

The Rise of American Civilization. By CHARLES A. BEARD and MARY R. BEARD. Volume III, *America in Midpassage*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1939. Pp. 977. \$3.50.)

CONTINUING their remarkable two-volume work of 1927, Professor and Mrs. Beard deal in this third volume with the highly complex and distressing decade following the election of Herbert Hoover. After four chapters of penetrating analysis of the causes and effects of the fade-out of the "golden glow" of prosperity which ushered in Mr. Hoover's presidency, the authors devote another four chapters to the policies of the New Deal: first, the great mass of emergency and reform legislation of 1933 for the salvation of the banks, the revival of industry, the rehabilitation of agriculture, and the relief of millions of unemployed; second, the acid test of this unprecedented volume of administration sponsored legislation at the hands of the federal courts; third, the appeal to the "ultimate power" of the people in the presidential campaign of 1936, resulting in the triumphant re-election of President Roosevelt; and, finally, "the execution of the mandate" in the determined pursuit, albeit with some necessary modifications and concessions in view of judicial obstruction and economic embarrassment, of the objectives of the New Deal during the first two years of Roosevelt's second term.

The two long chapters which follow (pp. 381-500) are perhaps the most significant part of the volume. For they deal with a subject which, as Professor Beard has shown in several notable books (*The Idea of National Interest*, *The Open Door at Home*, *The Navy—Defense or Portent*), lies

very close to his heart. This is the impracticability and the ultimate folly of adherence to either the Mahan-Roosevelt(T.R.)-Beveridge school of "bastard imperialism" or the theories of the "collective internationalists" like Woodrow Wilson, with their dream of "imposing an idealistic scheme of permanent peace upon the world—after an imperialist settlement under military auspices at Paris", that "vindictive experiment in pacification". The imperialistic policy, despite its enormous costs and risks, had not brought and never could bring the promised relief from our economic stagnation by providing outlets for our industrial and agricultural surpluses; and the attempt of the United States to police a quarrelsome world could only result in our becoming another party to the quarrel. In contrast to these schools of foreign policy the Beards advocate what, for want of a better name, they call a "continental" or "American civilization" doctrine. Yet they refuse to be classed as isolationists or chauvinistic nationalists. "Surrendering shopworn reliance upon imperialist pressures, money lending, and huckstering abroad", they would have us turn "to the efficient, humanistic use of national resources and technical skills as a means for making a civilization on this continent more just, more stable, and more beautiful than anything yet realized" (p. 453). They would not "repudiate international coöperation, conciliation, arbitration, collective action on definite matters of general interest", but they oppose, "as distracting and dangerous to domestic life the propagation of the idea that any mere foreign policy could in any material respect reduce the amount of degrading poverty in the United States, set American economy in full motion, or substantially add to the well-being of the American people" (p. 455).

The second half of the volume (pp. 501-949) consists of illuminating chapters on social conditions during the decade: labor, entertainment, art, and science, all treated with a fullness of knowledge and discrimination of judgment which need no comment for those familiar with the masterly writings of these historians of American civilization.

Columbia University.

DAVID S. MUZZEY.

Canada, 1763-1841, Immigration and Settlement: The Administration of the Imperial Land Regulations. By NORMAN MACDONALD, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1939. Pp. xii, 577. \$8.40.)

THAT the administration of the land regulations determined not only the settlement "but also the social and economic development of Canada, and to a large extent conditioned the political and constitutional struggles" is the thesis of this well-made book. Such a broad theme raises problems of interpretation, but it enables the author to place inside one cover vital material that comes near to providing a history of the people of early British North America.

The study is set up in three thought provoking sections. The first, "The Colonies from Without", dealing with land regulations made from a point of view entirely outside the colonies, reopens the old subject of emigration and immigration. But the story moves along in the next chapters on gratuitous grants of land for military purposes, grants to favorites, to capitalists, and reservation of land for revenue and religion. It is not a pleasant tale: military grants end in as reprehensible dickering north of the Lakes as south; grants in Prince Edward Island cause absentee landlordism like that in Ireland. In this imperial setting the appraisal of Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe, Lord Selkirk, and Thomas Talbot would have been more stimulating if the author had faced fully the responsibilities borne by the English cabinet in administering British North America while opening foreign relations with the United States. Professor Macdonald believes that the colonies needed the British capital which was going to the "Old Thirteen"; he does not show the pressure put upon the home government to keep Anglo-American investments flowing in old channels.

The second part of the book is a refreshingly brief "Interlude" on "Systematic Colonisation", in which R. J. Wilmot-Horton is buried (pp. 21, 255, 257), temporarily, let us assume. In the third, "The Colonies from Within", British officials began to work with some regard for the inner needs of the colonies. New regulations permitted the appearance of the land companies though, it must be added, no regulations could have created them had not financial conditions been favorable. "The New South Wales System" is analyzed, then at length the political consequences of the land policy which are here insolubly mingled with other problems. Though he acknowledges little indebtedness to economic surveys, Professor Macdonald, in the valuable chapter on "The New Canada", does touch upon some of those geographic explanations of the settlers' vicissitudes (pp. 466, 468, 472, 474 ff.) which of late have admirably illuminated the history of settlement. Throughout the whole book statements are buttressed with a heavy weight of references in which one happens upon few errors such as those in number 1 on page 31, number 118 on page 37, number 22 on page 175, or number 44 on page 261.

This able investigation closes with a forthright condemnation of the erratic British policy (pp. 510 ff.) and a preference for a uniform land sale system (pp. 514 ff.) that invite comparison with other frontiers. The United States had speculating politicians who ruined actual settlers in spite of a sound land sale law; it had squatters as numerous as British North America with all its reserved lands. More challenging contrast perhaps, some of its historians discovered in pioneer settlement what Professor Macdonald does not stress, a tradition of frontier democracy.

Baltimore, Maryland.

HELEN I. COWAN.

Building the Canadian West: The Land and Colonization Policies of the Canadian Pacific Railway. By JAMES B. HEDGES, Professor of American History, Brown University. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1939. Pp. vii, 422. \$4.00.)

THE Canadian Pacific Railway Company looks back with pride upon its administration of the twenty-five million acre land subsidy which it received from the Dominion of Canada. Its policies resulted in the creation not of a mere land boom but of an agricultural empire in the prairie provinces, whose settlers, it is claimed, found in the C.P.R. a paternal institution ever-ready to ease their struggle with the land. Not all Canadians would accept this evaluation of the company's activities, but in many ways the work under review substantiates the claims of the Canadian Pacific, although it must be noted that the author has relied heavily upon the company's own records and has concerned himself more with the process by which the West was settled than with the results.

The railway land subsidy policy of Canada differed from that of the United States in its actual working and in its political background. Most important was the "fairly fit for settlement" clause, which permitted railways to reject poor sections and to select indemnity lands far from their lines. The author notes that in Canada the debates on the adoption of a land subsidy policy do not reveal a sectional cleavage such as existed in the United States. That is true. The sectional—or rather the racial—issue had previously been fought out over the annexation of the West. It is also true that the railway land-grant system was adopted in the Dominion just as it was being abandoned here, but numerous petitions and bills for land grants to railways were introduced into the legislature of the Province of Canada between 1847 and 1867, and two such measures actually became law, although it does not seem that the companies in question ever earned their grants.

Certain features of C.P.R. land policy have been emphasized: the efforts to encourage homesteading and to settle the government's alternate reserved sections first; the preferential treatment granted settlers, which was gradually extended in scope until the company was no longer merely selling land but colonizing it and granting its settlers long-term loans for land, stock, and buildings; and the postwar efforts to secure settlers for land belonging to others.

Professor Hedges has dealt in great detail—perhaps in too great detail—with the immigration promotion activities of the C.P.R. in Europe and the United States. In his excellent but crowded final chapter, which touches on topics well worth more extended consideration, he has included a number of valuable statistical tables, estimated the original value of the land subsidy, and placed the net profit which the C.P.R. has received from its lands at the surprisingly low figure of \$2.00 an acre. We wish he had also attempted to

show the combined effect of the land policies of the railway, the colonization companies, and the Dominion upon the individual settler. What choices had the settler?

Students of Canadian history will regret that the bibliography does not include a more extended account of the archives of the Canadian Pacific.

Ithaca, New York.

LILLIAN F. GATES.

A History of Mexico. By HENRY BAMFORD PARKES. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1938. Pp. xii, 432. \$3.75.)

THIS book is quite readable but frequently inaccurate both as regards generalizations, in which it abounds, and details of narrative history. It is recommended to the general reader, uninformed on Mexico, as a pleasing introduction to the main outlines and some interesting details of Mexican history. It is not recommended as a text or reference book for serious students, unless the instructor—while easing up on standards for the purpose of encouraging reading, irrespective—is thoroughly qualified to use the book critically.

The book is divided into nine sections, each with from four to seven short chapters and a selective bibliography. The first three sections reveal the superficiality of the author's knowledge of colonial New Spain—but as proof of this a few examples must suffice. In the chapter on Indian races the discussion is virtually limited to the three principal cultures; and that of one of these races, the Aztecs, had not advanced to the point where the capital, Mexico-Tenochtitlán, had "acquired a splendor which could scarcely be duplicated in Europe" (p. 21). The charge that Balboa was "plotting to oust Pedrarias" (p. 36) has been disproved. It is misleading, if not incorrect, to say of De Soto that "for three years he marched to and fro between the Atlantic and the Mississippi" (p. 74). The exploring expeditions of Niza and Coronado are overemphasized; the more important colonization of New Mexico by Oñate receives scant mention in five lines (p. 80).

In the last six sections of the book, beginning with the war for independence, the author is on firmer ground, and progressively so; the last two sections, which treat of the revolution against Díaz and reconstruction down to 1937, are, though very sketchy, probably the best written and the most reliable in the book. Nevertheless, numerous minor errors continue to irritate. A few illustrations—aside from the exceedingly large number of misspelled proper and place names which are found throughout the entire book—follow: Hidalgo, it is most generally conceded, did not die regretting what he had done (pp. 145; 154). Mier y Terán was neither a "runaway" nor a "law student" (p. 163); he was a graduate engineer from the College of Mines. The role of United States Ambassador H. L. Wilson at the time of the Huerta coup is inadequately treated (p. 333), as are the agreements reached by the United States and Mexican Commission in 1923.

The agrarian program since 1920 is well summarized. The book is to be commended particularly for its excellent illustrations.

The University of Texas.

CHARLES W. HACKETT.

América y Hostos: Colección de ensayos acerca de Eugenio María de Hostos, recogidos y publicados por la Comisión pro celebración del centenario del natalicio de Eugenio María de Hostos. [Edición conmemorativa del gobierno de Puerto Rico.] (Havana: Cultural, S. A. 1939. Pp. 391.)
La conmemoración en América. (San Juan de Puerto Rico: Comisión pro centenario del natalicio de Hostos. 1939. Pp. 133, 209.)

EUGENIO María de Hostos was a nineteenth century Spanish American intellectual. Born in Puerto Rico, because of political reasons he spent much of his life elsewhere, especially in Chile and Santo Domingo. He was an outstanding educator and author. His writings, including books and newspaper articles, cover a wide range of subjects—pedagogy, history, literature, philosophy, sociology, international law, and geography. He also participated in the political agitation against Spain in the interest of Puerto Rico and Cuba. At the close of the Spanish-American War he headed the Puerto Rican delegation to Washington. He then returned to his native land but, because of dissatisfaction with the American program for Puerto Rico, soon went to Santo Domingo, where he died.

The two volumes under review appeared in connection with the celebration of the centenary of the birth of Hostos, during which recognition of his work was accorded by many countries. The first, *América y Hostos*, comprises principally a number of reprinted articles and chapters from books. They give the story of his life and work as well as an appreciation of his significance. Among them are a biographical sketch published in 1904 and a lengthy study of the pedagogical ideas of Hostos written in 1929 by Camila Henríquez Ureña. Others from the pen of noted personages, including Máximo Gómez, Gabriela Mistral, Rufino Blanco Fombona, Adolfo Posada, and Francisco Henríquez y Carvajal, treat of various phases of his ideas and career. There are also included four addresses delivered during the celebration: "The Literary Style and Criticism of Hostos" by Dr. José A. Balsiero, formerly professor of Spanish in the University of Illinois; the "Social Morality of Hostos" by Dr. Pedro de Alba, assistant director of the Pan American Union; "Essential Ideology of Hostos" by José A. Fránquiz, professor of the University of Puerto Rico; and "Hostos and the Nature of America" by Srta. Concha Meléndez, professor of the University of Puerto Rico. A list of more than eighty periodicals which Hostos edited or to which he contributed, a bibliography of his published works, and a list of courses he gave in various educational institutions are included. Thirty-five pages are devoted to giving the references to Hostos in books and periodicals. The volume is profusely illustrated with reproductions of photo-

graphs relating to the life of the subject and to the celebration of the centenary.

The second volume, consisting of two numbers of a bulletin issued by the Puerto Rican Committee on the Centenary of Hostos, contains a compilation of information on the activities in the various countries that participated in the event. Most of the material is from the press, comprising accounts of meetings, programs, texts of resolutions and addresses, and lists of articles, as well as quotations, from special numbers of periodicals issued in honor of Hostos. The address of Dr. Alba, mentioned above, is included, together with an English translation, as is also the discourse of Srta. Concha Meléndez.

The National Archives.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

NOTICES OF OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

GENERAL HISTORY

Vom geschichtlichen Sinn und vom Sinn der Geschichte. By FRIEDRICH MEINECKE. (Leipzig, Koehler und Amelang, 1939, pp. 120, 2 M.) These six essays are, as the author says in the preface, by-products of his *Die Entstehung des Historismus* (1936). Only one has not been published before, and another, "Geschichte und Gegenwart", appears here in a revised form. This latter essay will be of most interest to those who have followed the course of Meinecke's thought, for in it the master of *Ideengeschichte* formulates once more his faith in historicism. With Goethe he declares that "the moment is eternity" or with Ranke that "every epoch is directly with God". Especially significant is the role which he assigns to the human conscience in making this union possible. "All eternal values of history spring in last analysis from the decisions of conscience of acting men", he writes. Thereby he arrives at a vertical view of history as contrasted with the horizontal views of backwardlooking romanticism and the forwardlooking idea of progress. The richness of this vertical conception of Meinecke's is evident. One could easily expand it into the approach to history from the standpoint of the total culture. Meinecke would understand this expansion and, I think, approve it. The essay "Geschichte und Gegenwart" closes with an affirmation of faith which might well be used as the theme of the book. It contains the final wisdom of a scholar who has lived through as troublous times as Plato but without becoming embittered. Quoting Goethe, Meinecke writes in exquisite prose: "Wohin es geht, wer weiss es?" sagen wir wohl wieder und denken an alle Abgründe der Geschichte—und dürfen trotzdem nicht erschrecken."

EUGENE N. ANDERSON.

In the Margin of History. By L. B. NAMIER. (New York, Macmillan, 1939, pp. viii, 303, \$2.50.) The thirty-four essays in this volume afford sharp contrast to the leisureliness of Professor Namier's historical monographs. With few exceptions they are brief and pungent, and their matter is presented in the high relief demanded by a "middle" article or book review for an English newspaper or journal. While the twenty-odd monographs reviewed may nearly all be classified as historical source materials, and while what Mr. Namier has to say about them is seldom negligible, the reviews hardly seem to justify preservation in book form. Students of history, at least, will probably most often turn to this volume for about half a dozen of its other pieces. These would no doubt include the opening article defending secret diplomacy; the remarkably prophetic, because shrewdly analytical, "German Arms and Aims", first published in 1935; the courageous, dispassionate, and historically minded "The Jews in the Modern World" (1934); the neat postscript to constitutional history, "The End of the Nominal Cabinet"; the incisive essay on Talleyrand; and "Lawrence: As I Knew Him", here reprinted for the second time. Lovers of history and admirers of Mr. Namier may guess at what to expect in the collection from his subdivisions: "Foreign Affairs", "Judaica", "Under the Georges", "Napoleon", "Men Who Floundered into War", and "T. E. Lawrence".

J. B. BREBNER.

The Rise of European Civilization. By CHARLES SEIGNOBOS, Professor of Modern History, University of Paris. Translated from the French by Catherine Alison Phillips. (New York, Knopf, 1938, pp. xi, 436, ix, \$4.50.)

A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest. By Sir JOHN EDWARD LLOYD. Two volumes. Third edition. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1939, pp. lv, 356, vii, 357-815, \$10.00.) This work is "reprinted in its entirety" with a new introduction "to supply a groundwork for the main history" of prehistoric and Roman archaeology and a supplement to the original index of authors.

Mythes et dieux des Germains: Essai d'interprétation comparative. By GEORGES DUMÉZIL. [Mythes et religions.] (Paris, Leroux, 1939, pp. xvi, 157, 15 fr.)

Geschiedenis van Vlaanderen. Volumes I-IV. (Amsterdam, N. V. Uitgeversmaatschappij "Joost Van den Vondel", 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, pp. 328, 351, 390, 377, 6 fl. each.) Under the leadership of Dr. Van Roosbroeck a group of distinguished scholars is writing a history that will show the importance and richness of the Flemish past. Among the contributors to the volumes that have appeared are L. Van der Essen, François L. Ganshof, J. De Sturler, H. Van Werveke, and F. Quicke. Their names are sufficient guarantee of an objective approach to their subject and give assurance that the work is devoid of political animus. Of the four volumes already published, the first covers the prehistoric ages, the Roman occupation of Flanders, and the Middle Ages to the thirteenth century; the second, the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; the third, the Burgundian period; and the fourth, the age of Habsburg dominance. Political history is given its due weight, but there is also much attention accorded to social, economic, and cultural developments. Organized systematically with no attempt to fit a rigid chronological scheme, these latter sections will doubtless prove to be the most useful as well as the most stimulating parts of the work. The bibliographies supplementing the various sections of the work have been prepared with care and discrimination. The editor and publishers have been liberal, almost lavish, in their desire to produce what are not only useful but also beautiful books. There are many excellent maps, some in color, others in gray tone. These are often significant contributions, for unless the expensive, voluminous *Geschiedkundige Atlas van Nederland* is at hand, there are few places where similar cartographical information is to be had. No expense has been spared, and the hundreds of illustrations alone make the volumes distinctive.

GRAY C. BOYCE.

Historic Heraldry of Britain: An Illustrated Series of British Historical Arms, with Notes, Glossary, and an Introduction to Heraldry. By ANTHONY R. WAGNER. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1939, pp. 118, \$5.00.) Mr. Wagner describes in heraldic language and indicates the origins of the arms borne by 142 men and women who have played a prominent part in the development of British civilization. Most of the arms are illustrated, many in color. Each century since the introduction of heraldic devices receives equal representation, and different types of distinction are recognized—political, legal, military, literary, and artistic. For the historian the main part of the book is little more than a pleasant and decorative curiosity. But Mr. Wagner has added a brief introduction on heraldry in general, a discussion of the sources for our knowledge of early English arms, and a glossary of technical terms. The introduction is by far the best short discussion of the subject that I have seen. A historian who

wishes to know something about heraldry without becoming too deeply involved in its complexities could not do better than to turn to this book.

SIDNEY PAINTER.

A History of Western Civilization. Part I, Foundations of Western Civilization. By WILLIAM J. BOSSENBROOK and ROLF JOHANNESSEN. With Contributions by Richard L. Burks, Frank Kemmer, George Lechler, Raymond C. Miller, Ernest Scheyer, Wayne University. (Boston, Heath, 1939, pp. xxi, 695, \$3.75.)

Europe from the Renaissance to Waterloo. By ROBERT ERGANG, New York University. (Boston, Heath, 1939, pp. xvii, 753, lxxxvi, \$4.00.)

Anglo-French Relations, 1763-1770: A Study of Choiseul's Foreign Policy. By JOHN FRASER RAMSEY. [University of California Publications in History.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1939, pp. vii, 143-263, \$1.25.) This dissertation presents a reappraisal of Choiseul's policy toward Great Britain from the Peace of Paris until his dismissal. Special emphasis is placed upon both French and British relations with Spain. The chief issues considered are Choiseul's interpretation of the Family Compact, the French acquisition of Corsica, foreign intrigue in Sweden, and the Anglo-Spanish conflicts over the Falkland Islands. Dr. Ramsey challenges certain older views of Choiseul's policy. He argues that the minister desired peace and endeavored to check Great Britain by diplomacy rather than by arms and that Choiseul valued the Family Compact primarily for its economic advantages and counted very little on military support from Spain. Greatest attention is given to the two crises over the Falkland Islands. It has long been held that Choiseul urged war in the second dispute and that this was responsible for his dismissal by Louis XV. Dr. Ramsey shows conclusively that the minister strove for peace. In fact, a settlement along the lines he suggested had been accepted in London when he fell from office. Choiseul's disgrace is attributed to Madame du Barry and a palace cabal which convinced the king that his minister was in league with the rebellious *parlements*. The book is based on extensive research in the Paris archives and on more limited work in London. The conclusions are well documented and convincing. The chief weakness of the study is the failure to give adequate attention to affairs in Great Britain. Choiseul's task was made easier by dissensions within the Whig party and by the intrigues of George III which gave Britain six prime ministers in these seven years.

E. WILSON LYON.

Western Concepts of China and the Chinese, 1840-1876. By MARY GERTRUDE MASON. (New York, 416 West 118th Street, privately published, 1939, pp. xv, 288, \$2.00.) In stating her purpose in the preface of this book the author declares that she is "interested primarily in showing the part China played in Western thought and also in setting forth the ideas which Europeans entertained of the Orientals and their country" during the period indicated in the title. Since, however, she has limited her source materials for the most part to books and articles in leading periodicals which were written primarily to give information about China, it is not surprising that she contributes very little along the line of her primary interest. Nor does the reader learn as much as he might wish concerning the attitudes of ordinary Europeans and Americans toward China and the Chinese, although the opinions of certain articulate groups are presented, such as those of legislators, chambers of commerce, labor agitators, etc.—at least their ideas regarding the particular aspects of the "Chinese problem" with which they happened to be concerned. The outstanding value of the book, based as it is upon several thousand books and articles written in English, German, and

French, lies in its thorough analysis of the information about China which was available in the West during the period covered. While much of this information is questionable in the light of modern knowledge, still one is struck by how much really was known at a time when opportunities for observation and methods of study were decidedly inferior to those of today. The author has arranged her material under the following chapter headings: "Western Notions of the Chinese Empire", "The Breakdown of Seclusion", "Immigration", "Opium", "Commercial and Political Interests", "Chinese Society", "Language and Literature", "Philosophy and Religion", "Music and the Arts", and "Science". Besides extensive bibliographical data in the footnotes there is a long chapter devoted to a critical survey of the most important sources.

KNIGHT BIGGERSTAFF.

Spanisch-deutsche Beziehungen zur Zeit des ersten Dreibundvertrages, 1882-1887: Beiträge zur Aussenpolitik Bismarcks auf Grund der Akten der spanischen Botschaft in Berlin. By Dr. REEMT REEMTSSEN. (Berlin, Dr. Emil Ebering, 1938, pp. 125, 5.40 M.) This is a study of *Realpolitik*. After the accession of Alphonso XII Spain was eager to retake her place among the great powers, and the conservative monarchy turned naturally to Germany for diplomatic support. Though received with restraint, the approach was not unwelcome in Berlin. Bismarck saw the advantage of Spanish markets for German industry, but his favors, as usual, were not gratuitous. In renewing her trade treaty in 1883, Spain was obliged to make serious economic sacrifices for what her foreign minister called "lofty political interests". Recognition of her sovereignty over the Sulu Archipelago was closely followed by her ceding to Germany a naval base off the west coast of Africa. All the negotiations were attended by delays and denials because Bismarck found Spain a useful foil in his diplomatic duel with England and because he allowed no Spanish claim to disturb his working entente with France. It was not until 1887 that he permitted Spain to accede indirectly and secretly to the Triple Alliance. Dr. Reemtsen's account of this *Interessenpolitik* is concise and carefully documented. Only the chapter on the intricate colonial questions is lacking in clarity. Occasionally his admiration for the skill of the master diplomat colors his conclusions and inclines him to overestimate both the degree of the *rapprochement* and its importance as a factor in the Bismarckian policy. For Spain the association undoubtedly had prestige value. From Bismarck's point of view, however, Spain was too far away to threaten, too weak to help Germany, while her Mediterranean interests were a liability. Consequently, he extracted whatever advantage their relationship offered for trade or diplomacy, but he assumed no risk. Spain was not essential to the security of the German Empire.

PEARL BORING MITCHELL.

The Smaller Democracies. By Sir E. D. SIMON. (London, Victor Gollancz, 1939, pp. 191, 6s.) Eight of the twelve chapters in this handbook deal with the Scandinavian countries—the fifth country discussed being Switzerland. The author, a leader of some prominence in English finance and politics, surveys the social life and background of each of the five countries in order to see what contribution each has made to the tradition of democracy.

European Governments and Politics. By FREDERIC AUSTIN OGG. Second edition, thoroughly revised. (New York, Macmillan, 1939, pp. viii, 936, \$4.25.)

Nationalgeist und Politik: Beiträge zur Erforschung der tieferen Ursachen des Weltkrieges. Volume I, *Staatstradition und Nationalismus.* By FRIEDRICH HERTZ. (Zurich, Europa-Verlag, 1937, pp. xv, 479, 15 fr.)

Der Suez-Kanal im Weltkrieg und in der Nachkriegszeit: Eine völkerrechtliche Studie. By HARTMANN FREIHERR VON RICHTHOFEN. (Berlin, Karl Siegmund, 1939, pp. 89, 3 M.) This is a critical legal study of the operation and the effectiveness of the Suez Canal Convention of October, 1888. From his examination of the various situations and international agreements in the World War and the postwar period, including the Ethiopian conflict and the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of August, 1936, the author reaches the conclusion that the convention is an incomplete and unsatisfactory instrument for the safety of shipping through the canal and should be revised. This work is one of the best scholarly monographs on the subject.

CHARLES W. HALLBERG.

Atatürk and the True Nature of Modern Turkey. By GÉRARD TONGAS. Translated from the French by Major F. F. Rynd. (London, Luzac, 1939, pp. 79, 3s.) Written in the summer of 1937, this is a poorly composed and translated book, probably published with the intent to popularize the Turkish government with the French and British publics. Such an error as "President of Roumania" should put anyone on guard, and throughout the book the author in a naïve and superficial manner confuses Turkish ideals and goals with actual conditions. The main interest of the book is that it was translated by a major and appeared after the signing of the mutual defense agreement of Turkey and Great Britain.

SYDNEY N. FISHER.

International Relations. By BERTRAM W. MAXWELL, Professor of History and Political Science, Washburn College. (New York, Crowell, 1939, pp. x, 663, \$3.75.)

Europe: Versailles to Warsaw. By RONALD STUART KAIN, Foreign Editor, New International Year Book and Encyclopedia. (New York, H. W. Wilson, 1939, pp. vi, 456, \$1.25.)

Handbook of the War. By JOHN C. DE WILDE, DAVID H. POPPER, and EUNICE CLARK. Pictorial Charts by Irving Geis. Maps by Richard Ely Falconer. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1939, pp. vi, 248, \$2.00.)

An Introduction to Current Affairs. By RAPHAEL LEVY, University of Baltimore. Second edition revised. (Baltimore, David Wallace, 906 Newington Avenue, 1939, pp. 132, \$1.75.) The first edition of this book appeared in mimeographed form in 1938.

ARTICLES

ARTHUR O. LOVEJOY. Reflections on the History of Ideas. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, Jan.

J. CALMETTE. Convictions et objectivité en histoire contemporaine. *Rev. Hist. Mod.*, Oct.

R. F. ARRAGON. The Share of the Arts in the Interpretation of History. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, Mar.

JAMES GRAY. A Literary Critic looks at History. *Minnesota Hist.*, Mar.

Lieut.-Col. J. M. SCAMMELL. Why Military History? *Infantry Jour.*, Mar.

WALTER E. BEAN. Ideas, Emotions, and History. *Sewanee Rev.*, Jan.

CRANE BRINTON. The Study of Revolutions. *Southern Rev.*, Winter.

JOHN NEF. A Social Science Objective. *Univ. Chicago Mag.*, Nov.

Id. In Defense of Democracy. *Gen. Mag. and Hist. Chron.*, Oct.

MAX HORKHEIMER. Die Juden und Europa. *Zeitsch. f. Sozialf.*, VIII, nos. 1-2.

Growth of Rigidity in Business: During the Middle Ages, by N. S. B. GRAS; In the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, by VIOLET BARBOUR; During the Eighteenth Century, by EARL J. HAMILTON; Since the Industrial Revolution, by HERBERT HEATON. *Am. Ec. Rev.*, Mar., supplement.

Growth of Rigidity in Business. *Bull. Business Hist. Soc.*, Feb.

- JOHN HERMAN RANDALL, JR. The Development of Scientific Method in the School of Padua. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, Apr.
- Comdr. LOUIS H. RODDIS, U.S.N. The Influence of Scurvy upon Maritime History. *U. S. Naval Inst. Proc.*, Mar.
- THOMAS E. KEYS. The Earliest Medical Books printed with Movable Type. *Library Quar.*, Apr.
- JOACHIM BIRKNER. Die Akten des Trienter Konzils für die zweite Tangungsperiode unter Papst Julius III. *Quellen u. Forsch. Italien. Arch. u. Biblioth.*, XXIX.
- LEO JUST. Die Quellen zur Geschichte der kölnen Nuntiatur in Archiv und Bibliothek des Vatikans. *Ibid.*
- FRANCIS BORGIA STECK, O.F.M. The Spanish Universities of the New World. *Cath. Educ. Rev.*, Apr.
- MANOEL GIÃO. Notes sur le service de santé pendant la Guerre de la restauration, 1640-1668: Chirurghiens étrangers dans l'armée portugaise. *Rev. Internat. Hist. Mil.*, I, nos. 1-2.
- GUNNAR W. LUNDBERG, F. E. P. DESFEUILLES. Les comtes de Sparre et le comte Axel de Fersen, colonels du royal-suédois, 1694-1714 et 1742-1791. *Ibid.*
- J. O. HANNULA. La conduite de la guerre pendant la grande Guerre du nord, 1700-1721. *Ibid.*
- ROBERT PARK MACHATTON. Evolution and Introduction of Chain Cables. *U. S. Naval Inst. Proc.*, Mar.
- L. A. MAVERICK. The Chinese and the Physiocrats. *Ec. Hist.*, Feb.
- HENRIQUE DE CAMPOS FERREIRA LIMA. Le séjour du Prince de Waldeck en Portugal. *Rev. Internat. Hist. Mil.*, I, nos. 1-2.
- BENJAMIN H. HIGGINS. Agriculture and War: A Comparison of Agricultural Conditions in the Napoleonic and World War Periods. *Agricultural Hist.*, Jan.
- JAMES F. CLARKE. The First Bulgarian Book [1806]. *Harvard Library Notes*, Mar.
- W. O. BLANCHARD. Seventy Years of Suez. *Sci. Monthly*, Apr.
- Rear Admiral A. FARENHOLT. The Hawaiian Navy and an International Incident [1886-87]. *U. S. Naval Inst. Proc.*, Apr.
- CHARLES I. GLICKSBERG. Henry Adams on Education. *Educational Rec.*, Apr.
- Maj. ELBRIDGE COLBY. The Taking of Montfaucon. *Infantry Jour.*, Mar.; *Coast Artillery Jour.*, Mar.
- ARNOLD E. TRUE. The Effects of Meteorological Conditions on Tactical Operations at Jutland. *U. S. Naval Inst. Proc.*, Jan.
- M. M. CHAMBERS. The Colleges and the Courts in 1938-1939. *Educational Rec.*, Jan.
- GEORGE LA PIANA. The Political Heritage of Pius XII. *For. Affairs*, Apr.
- AUGUST BACH. Englands Verantwortung für das Scheitern der deutsch-polnischen Verständigung. *Berl. Monatsh.*, Jan.
- HERMANN HEIMPEL. Frankreich und das Reich. *Hist. Zeitsch.*, CLXI, no. 2.
- C. H. WILLIAMS. The Pattern of Dictatorship [review article]. *History*, Dec.
- Economics of War: Papers by FREDERICK POLLOCK, FRANK G. DICKINSON, BRUCE KNIGHT, and AARON DIRECTOR. *Am. Ec. Rev.*, Mar., supplement.

ANCIENT HISTORY¹

T. R. S. Broughton

The Life of Greece: Being a History of Greek Civilization from the Beginnings and of Civilization in the Near East from the Death of Alexander to the Roman Conquest, with an Introduction on the Prehistoric Culture of Crete. By WILL DURANT. [The Story of Civilization, II.] (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1939, pp. xviii, 755, \$3.95.) The only effective way to arouse the general reader's interest in classical antiquity is to show him that the ancient world was agitated

¹ Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

by the same problems that we are facing today. Many authors who try to kindle this interest go too far in drawing parallels between the past and the present. Durant tactfully and with good taste avoids such a vulgarization of ancient history. His book is well balanced and crammed with documentation to a degree that surpasses by far what we usually expect to find in a popular presentation. Durant is interested in social relations and in the growth of Greek culture; chapter xii, "Work and Wealth in Athens, Land and Food, the War of the Classes, etc.," and chapter xiv, "The Art of Periclean Greece", as well as the story of the Solonian reforms in chapter v, are very valuable. On the whole the author is sound in his judgments, though occasionally he shows a certain lack of penetration. Thus, for instance, his interpretation of Alexander's character (ch. xxii) does not do justice to the genius of the great Macedonian; obviously Wilcken's book on Alexander is unknown to Durant. One naturally expects to find a few flaws in a book of such scope. The repeated transliterations of Greek texts are of no use to the beginner, whom the author certainly has in mind; besides, some of them (for instance, a quotation from the *Apology*, on p. 367) do not correspond to the English translation; others (like the text of the Jewish prayer on p. 580) contain mistakes. The transliteration of many Greek terms (e.g., *hippes*, *thesmthete*) should be revised. Durant's style is concise and often epigrammatic, which makes the book highly readable and stimulating. It proves once more that he deserves the reputation of an excellent popularizer.

MICHAEL GINSBURG.

Saka-Studien: Der ferne Nordosten im Weltbild der Antike. By JULIUS JUNGE. [Klio.] (Leipzig, Dieterich, 1939, pp. 115, 8 M.) Beginning with a sketch of the geography, Junge reviews in chronological order our information on the Sakas from the time of the Greek epics down to the invasions of the Christian era. While classical sources are treated very fully, other literatures are not neglected. The treatment of the Chinese material is most welcome, for there the writer had advice from G. Haloun, who made new translations and many suggestions. No one can hope to cover all the language fields necessary in this study, and similar aid might have been sought with profit from an expert in the cuneiform field. A considerable number of pertinent texts have not been mentioned, and valuable information to be gleaned from the liver omens is entirely omitted. Slips occur, such as "König von Saka-Ugutium" for "K. von Saka und Gutium" (p. 7). While archaeological material bearing on the problem is scanty, there is some available. Of this Junge has utilized only a part and that not with complete success. For example, on page 10, note 1, Sir Flinders Petrie's date of the fifth century B. C. for the figurines from Memphis is retained. These figurines cannot be earlier than the first century B. C. and more probably belong to the first century of the Christian era. But these matters are not of great import, and the study should be a very useful and informative addition to our scanty knowledge of the Saka.

NEILSON C. DEBEVOISE.

I bolli laterizi e la storia edilizia romana: Contributi all'archeologia e alla storia romana. By HERBERT BLOCH. [Ristampato dal Bulletino della Commissione archeologica comunale del Governatorato di Roma.] Three volumes. (Rome, Stabilimento Tipografico ditta Carlo Colombo, 1938, 1938, 1939, pp. 1-86, 87-192, 193-353.) The architecture of imperial Rome was an architecture of brick and concrete, and Roman brickmakers regularly marked their product with an inscribed stamp of conventional form. The presence of bricks bearing the stamp of an identifiable brickmaker would therefore appear to offer a valuable clue to

the date of a building in which they are found, particularly since, after the early years of the second century, the maker's stamp normally included a date. During the past fifty years, however, it has become the practice to disregard the evidence of such stamps. Archaeologists have generally substituted other dating criteria of a less obviously objective sort, largely on the grounds that bricks might often be salvaged and reused long after their manufacture and that the dates they bear may represent not the date of manufacture but that of the establishment of the brickyard or brickmaker's guild connected with it. It is Dr. Bloch's merit to have restored the brick stamp to its position of authority. He has shown that until the second quarter of the third century is reached fear of misdating through salvaged materials is groundless and that the dated stamps indubitably give the date of manufacture. These conclusions are incidental to his thorough re-examination of the whole problem of the stamps. In the course of it he has personally studied some 2500 stamps over and above those published in Volume XV of the *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*, more than 1500 of them *in situ*. The result is a searching and brilliant study of fundamental importance for the chronology of imperial Roman brickmaking and architecture. It establishes solid and positive criteria for future guidance and, it is to be hoped, will form the foundation for a new edition of the entire corpus of brick stamps.

FRANK E. BROWN.

Kaiser Julian und das Judentum: Studien zum Weltanschauungskampf der Spätantike. By JOSEPH VOGT. [Morgenland: Darstellungen aus Geschichte und Kultur des Ostens.] (Leipzig, J. C. Hinrich, 1939, pp. iv, 74, 3 M.) The title hardly does justice to the contents of this excellent essay, for nearly half of it is devoted to a consideration of Judaism in Palestine and neighboring areas during the two centuries before Julian. The author brings out well the varying appraisal of Judaism in pagan and Christian writers and the distinction drawn by them between the Old Israel and contemporary Jewry. After touching on anti-Jewish legislation of the fourth century, Vogt considers Julian's attitude to the Jews and his attempted rebuilding of the temple in Jerusalem. The final chapter illustrates the increasing hostility to Jews which formed the aftermath of Julian's failure. As for the supposed letter of the emperor to the Jews, Vogt re-enforces the older reasons against its authenticity by new arguments and suggests that the "forgery" was composed soon after 400 by a Jew with Neoplatonic interests. Two brief comments may here find a place. To the authors quoted on page 12 who connect Plato and Moses should be added Justin Martyr, who discusses (*Apology* I, 59) Plato's direct indebtedness to the Jewish lawgiver. Secondly, in discussing the Jews of the Eastern Empire in the later fourth century, Vogt might well have referred to Ambrosiaster, who shows considerable familiarity with Egyptian Jewry (see Alexander Souter, *A Study of Ambrosiaster*, pp. 180-83). This evidence is not invalidated, even if we accept the identification of Ambrosiaster with the Jew Isaac.

M. L. W. LAISTNER.

GENERAL ARTICLES

- H. E. WINLOCK. The Court of King Neb-Hepet-Rē Mentu-Hotpi at the Shatt er Rigāl. *Am. Jour. Sem. Lang.*, Apr.
 HERBERT PARGER. The Prophets and the Omri Dynasty. *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, Apr.
 MILLAR BURROWS. Levirate Marriage in Israel. *Jour. Bibl. Lit.*, Mar.
 ROY KENNETH HACK. Homer's Transformation of History. *Class. Jour.*, May.
 HANS HERTER. Theseus der Athener. *Rhein. Museum*, LXXXVIII, no. 4.
 A. RAUBITSCHKE. Ἐργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θαυμαστά. *Rev. Études Anc.*, July, 1939.
Id. Two Monuments erected after the Victory of Marathon. *Am. Jour. Arch.*, Jan.

- EUGENE SCHWEIGERT. The Athenian Cleruchy on Samos. *Am. Jour. Philol.*, Apr.
 W. KENDRICK PRITCHETT. The Composition of the Tribes Antigonis and Demetrias. *Ibid.*
 JOHN V. A. FINE. The Background of the Social War of 220-217 B. C. *Ibid.*
 J. P. V. D. BALSDON. Consular Provinces under the Late Republic. II, Caesar's Gallic Command. *Jour. Rom. Stud.*, XXIX, no. 2.
 CORNELIA C. COULTER. Marcus Junius Brutus and the *Brutus* of Accius. *Class. Jour.*, May.
 GEORGE MCCrackEN. Tiberius and the Cult of the Dioscuri at Tusculum. *Ibid.*
 E. ALBERTINI and P. MASSIERA. Le poste romain de Messad (Algérie). *Rev. Études Anc.*, July.
 E. HONIGMANN. La liste originale des pères de Nicée. *Byzantion*, XIV, no. 1.
 GLANVILLE DOWNEY. Julian the Apostate at Antioch. *Church Hist.*, Dec.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL ARTICLES

- HETTY GOLDMAN. Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus, 1938. *Am. Jour. Arch.*, Jan.
 RODNEY S. YOUNG. Excavation on Mount Hymettos, 1939. *Ibid.*
 VIRGINIA R. GRACE. A Cypriote Tomb and Minoan Evidence for its Date. *Ibid.*
 P. AMANDRY. Rapport préliminaire sur les statues chryséléphantines de Delphes. *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, LXIII, no. 1.
 GEORGE E. MYLONAS. The Olynthian House of the Classical Period. *Class. Jour.*, Apr.
 ARNOLD SCHÖBER. Zu den Weihgeschenke eines Attalos in Athen. *Röm. Mitteil.*, LIV, nos. 1-2.
 LUDWIG CURTIUS. Ikonographische Beiträge zum Porträt der römischen Republik und der julisch-claudischen Familie. *Ibid.*
 PAOLO ENRICO ARIAS. Nuovi contributi all'iconografia di Ottavia Minore. *Ibid.*
 F. ALTHEIM and ERIKA TRAUTMANN. Keltische Felsbilder der Val Camonica. *Ibid.*

EPIGRAPHICAL, PAPYROLOGICAL, AND LITERARY SOURCES

- PIERRE M. PURVES. The Early Scribes of Nuzi. *Am. Jour. Sem. Lang.*, Apr.
 JULIAN OBERMANN. A Revised Reading of the Tell El-Hesi Inscription. *Am. Jour. Arch.*, Jan.
 A. CAMERON. An Epigram of the Fifth Century B. C. *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, Apr.
 P. ROUSSEL. À propos d'un nouveau décret de Samothrace. *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, LXIII, no. 1.
 M. ROSTOVITZ. A Note on the New Inscription from Samothrace. *Am. Jour. Philol.*, Apr.
 HERBERT C. YOUTIE. O. Mich. I, 24. *Ibid.*
 T. B. MITTFORD. Milestones in Western Cyprus. *Jour. Rom. Stud.*, XXIX, no. 2.
 GILBERT CH. PICARD. Inscriptions latines d'Orange. *Rev. Arch.*, July.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

G. C. Boyce

Littérature latine au moyen âge. By J. DE GHELLINCK. Volume I, *Depuis les origines jusqu'à la fin de la renaissance carolingienne*; Volume II, *De la renaissance carolingienne à Saint Anselme*. [Bibliothèque catholique des sciences religieuses.] (Paris, Bloud et Gay, 1939, pp. 191, 192, 15 fr. each.) It may seem ungracious to lament that an author who has done so much has not done more than he set out to do. Yet it is with such mixed feelings that most readers will lay down these significant little volumes. The main topics covered are "The Period of the Founders", "The Carolingian Age", "The Schools and Chief Writers of the Tenth, Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries", with one section in each volume devoted to a consideration of "Principal Literary Genres and their Characteristics". What is presented appears in the perfect form expected from Father de Ghellinck, but these volumes are not exactly what their titles would indicate. They do cover the essentials of medieval Latin literature to about 1100, but they also do far more, for here literature is interpreted as a subject including matters usually confined to histories of theology, philosophy, and historiography. The

volumes are in fact a brilliant survey of medieval intellectual history. Every page gives evidence of Father de Ghellinck's close reading of the sources and thorough command of the critical literature on them. What might well have been pages merely recording fact well known and often used are instead pages of vigorous prose, full of pertinent comment and mature reflection. It does seem, however, that the work suffers from restrictions imposed upon it by the series for which it was designed. Here are materials that should be expanded into a work of larger dimensions, one that would include all the critical apparatus the author could so readily supply and that would also permit illustrations from the writings of the more significant authors and works discussed. Such a book is needed, for Manitius, Sandys, and other older writers no longer satisfy the needs of modern scholars.

Die Glaubensformel des Papstes Hormisdas im Acacianischen Schisma. By Dr. WALTER HAACKE. [Analecta Gregoriana.] (Rome, Apud Aedes Universitatis Gregoriana, 1939, pp. 150, 20 l.) The logical argument for papal infallibility has always been more convincing than the historical. The theologians and bishops who in 1870 opposed the definition of infallibility based their arguments almost exclusively on historical grounds. The question of the *Formula Hormisdas* was raised in the debates, and the Formula itself appears in chapter 4 of the *Constitutio Dogmatica I de Ecclesia Christi* of the council. Haacke tries to show in his monograph, a painstaking and scholarly treatise, that the dogma of infallibility is contained in the Formula and that the Formula is an expression of the conviction of the popes from Leo the Great to Agapetus. The arguments are not convincing. In the first place, Haacke's interpretation of the Formula, if possible, is not the only possible one, and in the second place, though the quotations which the author musters from the papal correspondence of the period are impressive in showing an increasing consciousness of primacy on the part of the popes, other quotations from the same sources might be adduced on the other side. The nonpolemical parts of this monograph are the most valuable. The critical text of the Formula and the careful examination of the manuscripts (in the *Collectio Avellana*, the *Collectio Veronensis* 22, and the *Collectio Berolinensis* 79) to determine which letters are originals or copies, genuine or spurious, are contributions to scholarship.

WILLIAM F. McDONALD.

Anglo-Saxon Charters. Edited with Translation and Notes by A. J. ROBERTSON. [Cambridge Studies in English Legal History.] (Cambridge, University Press, New York, Macmillan, 1939, pp. xxv, 555, \$8.00.) Miss Robertson's careful edition of the *Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I* (1925) has proved a valuable tool for students of early English history and law. In the present volume she presents a selection of land charters and other vernacular documents from the Anglo-Saxon period. In accordance with English custom (as exemplified in the standard editions by Kemble and Birch) the term "charter" has been somewhat freely interpreted, and together with a comparatively small number of land grants Miss Robertson has aimed to include "every kind of deed and record concerned with the transaction of legal business (apart from writs and manumissions)"; accordingly she prints a number of leases, agreements, wills, records of lawsuits, and other manuscript entries relating to the ownership and disposition of property. In all, 135 documents are included, which together comprise nearly all the charters written in Anglo-Saxon which have not already been edited by Miss Harmer in her *Select English Historical Documents* (1914) or by Miss Whitelock in her *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (1930).

Since the land charter developed under ecclesiastical auspices, by far the greater part of the charters printed by Kemble and Birch are in Latin, and many of the extant Anglo-Saxon documents are translations of Latin originals. None of the Latin documents are printed here, but in her critical notes, which occupy nearly half the book, Miss Robertson makes full use of the Latin charters for purposes of illustration and explanation. Her translations are carefully done, and all passages of doubtful significance are clearly marked as such. Indexes of names and places facilitate the use of the book for reference. A new edition of the entire corpus of Anglo-Saxon charters, both in Latin and in the vernacular, is badly needed, but in the meantime Miss Robertson's book will be received with gratitude by all students of pre-Conquest England.

ELLIOTT VAN KIRK DOBBIE.

Étude sur les privilèges d'exemption et de juridiction ecclésiastique des abbayes normandes depuis les origines jusqu'en 1140. By JEAN-FRANÇOIS LEMARIGNIER. (Paris, Archives de la France Monastique, A. Picard, 1937, pp. xxxiii, 331, 60 fr.)

Diplomatarium Danicum. Series 2, Volume I, 1250-1265. Edited by FRANZ BLATT and GUSTAV HERMANSEN with the Co-operation of C. A. CHRISTENSEN. (Copenhagen, Ejnar Munksgaard, 1938, pp. xxii, 407, Cr. 25.) The appearance of this volume marks the beginning of a new collection which will make available in printed form letters and diplomas pertaining to Danish history from the earliest times to 1340. The project owes its inception in 1931 to Det danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab and the generous support of Carlsbergfondet. Series 1 will contain material to 1250 and Series 2 from 1250 to 1340. The volume under review serves as a good illustration of the general editorial plan. Denmark is defined as the country and possessions of the period indicated, not modern Denmark, hence South Slesvig and Skåne are included but not the Faroes or Greenland, while the Island of Rügen and Estonia are treated only as far as they directly concern Denmark and the Danes. Municipal registers and chapter acts are included if referred to in correspondence, municipal law and national law which preserve the character of diplomas, and papal bulls when addressed directly to Danes. Letters addressed to Danish institutions or to Danes are reproduced in full as far as possible, while excerpts are used for foreign correspondence referring only indirectly to Denmark and Danes. Much of the material in this volume has previously been published in various printed collections of sources (see list on page x) but is reproduced in order to make the *Diplomatarium* complete. The editorial work is carefully executed, employing all parts of diplomatics, stating whether the original is lost and the kind of copy used (*i.e.*, copy of original or copy of copy), giving as far as possible the exact date or dates, and applying careful textual criticism. The explanatory notes are most useful. The admirable index is in two parts—one of personal names, with dates, and one of place names.

DAVID K. BJORK.

Archiv des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern. Volume XXXV, no. 1. (Berne, Gustav Grunau, 1939, pp. xxix, 174.) Save for the annual reports of the *Verein*, this issue of the *Archiv* is given over exclusively to Dr. Franz Moser's monograph on *Der Laupenkrieg* (1339). This is a detailed study of the events leading up to and immediately following the battle of Laupen (June 21, 1339), in which the forces of Berne defeated those of Freiburg and its allies. This is part of the story of the development of Swiss independence and is also a part of the history of papal and imperial antagonism during the late Middle Ages. It is of interest to note that at Laupen the Bernese soldiers were first identified by the white

cross now so closely associated with Switzerland and also to learn that it was on this occasion that Berne and the Forest Cantons first fought side by side. In the appendix is given a translation into German of the "Conflictus apud Loupon inter Bernenses et Friburgenses".

Commentarius Cantabrigiensis in Epistolas Pauli e Schola Petri Abaelardi. Volume II, *In Epistolam ad Corinthios, Iam et IIam ad Galatas et ad Ephesios.* By ARTUR LANDGRAF. (Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame, 1939, pp. 227-446, \$1.75.) This continues the publication of the Commentary noted in this journal (XLIV, 430). The pagination runs for the work as a whole, but this volume (like the first) has an index to facilitate its use by scholars. The editor draws attention to the greater influence of Abelard in this part of the Commentary and also to rather extensively developed theological doctrines, especially that on matrimony.

Le "De Trinitate" de Richard de Saint-Victor. By A.-M. ÉTHIER, O.P. [L'Institut d'études médiévales d'Ottawa.] (Paris, J. Vrin, Ottawa, Institut d'études médiévales, 1939, pp. 127.)

The Establishment of the University of Being in the Doctrine of Meister Eckhart of Hochheim. By BERNARD J. MULLER-THYM, with a Preface by Étienne Gilson. [Saint Michael's Mediaeval Studies.] (New York, Sheed and Ward, 1939, pp. xx, 140, \$2.50.)

Pour comprendre "La divine comédie". By ALEXANDRE MASSERON. (Paris, Desclée, De Brouwer, 1939, pp. xiv, 394, 32 fr., de luxe edition 55 fr.) This is a very scholarly and useful introduction to the study of the *Divine Comedy*. It is accurate enough to satisfy the specialist and sufficiently simple to serve as a guide to the beginner. It contains a helpful introduction to Dante's bibliography, schematic plans of Hell, Purgatory, Paradise, and particular sections of these, and synoptic tables of the contents of the three parts of the *Comedy*. The life of the poet, his knowledge, faith, moral aspirations, political convictions, struggles, and ambitions are set forth in a series of chapters, each of which constitutes an interesting essay in itself and all of which make up a well-unified introduction to the study of Dante's poem. DINO BIGONGIARI.

The Works of Francesco Landini. Edited by LEONARD ELLINWOOD. (Cambridge, Mediaeval Academy of America, 1939, pp. xliii, 316, \$3.00, lithoprinted.) It has been the generally accepted though unsubstantiated opinion that Francesco Landini was the greatest composer of the Italian *trecento*. This complete edition of his works enables us to examine his music and arrive at an objective evaluation. Landini, who was the most famous musical contemporary of Boccaccio and Petrarch, was actually acquainted with the latter. Like his French contemporary Machaut, Landini was himself a poet as well as a composer. But in contrast to Machaut, who cultivated both secular and sacred music, no sacred composition by Landini has been preserved. The two prevailing forms to be found in this edition are the madrigal and the *ballata* (French, *virelai*). The madrigal represents a highly refined art song consisting of a number of stanzas, each with the same melody, followed by a *ritornello*, which, presenting the point of the text, is sung only once at the end. The *ballata* was a popular type of dance song, which, in contrast to the madrigal, began and ended with a refrain. This definition of Landini's forms does not quite agree with that given by Mr. Ellinwood, but the differences though slight cannot be discussed here. A few of Landini's works show French influence. For example, the madrigal *Si dolce* was written upon a strictly isorhythmic tenor with two upper voices in which isorhythmic

passages also appear. In making the transcriptions Mr. Ellinwood has considered the more important extant manuscripts and has indicated the major variants. The Italian texts have been carefully revised by W. A. McLaughlin. One could add to the list of manuscripts containing compositions of Landini two further items, one in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and one in the Archivio Capitolare at Pistoia. In general this inexpensive and satisfactory edition of Landini's works could serve as a model for future critical editions of medieval music. A real contribution to musical scholarship has been made by Mr. Ellinwood's painstaking transcriptions.

MANFRED F. BUKOFZER.

De Tol van Iersekeroord: Documenten en Rekeningen, 1321-1572. Edited by Dr. W. S. UNGER. [Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën.] (The Hague, Nijhoff, 1939, pp. xv, 685.) Since the larger share of Antwerp's sea-borne trade passed through the *Ooster-Schelde* (East Scheldt) during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the most important customhouse in the County of Zeeland was located on the island of South Beveland opposite the town of Bergen-op-Zoom. The present work contains three groups of documents which throw much light on the increasing trade of Antwerp, namely, official documents, lists of revenues, and accounts. But since several towns had obtained exemptions from the payment of tolls for their respective merchants, these documents do not give a complete description of the whole transit trade passing through the east arm of the Scheldt. The learned editor has done an excellent piece of work, providing the texts with numerous footnotes and introductions and adding two useful and elaborate indexes which fill eighty-four pages. All the receipts show that the official currency during the period from 1321 to 1572 was the pound sterling, which was worth 240 pennies.

A. HYMA.

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MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

F. H. Herrick

- The Renaissance and English Humanism*. By DOUGLAS BUSH. (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1939, pp. 139, \$1.50.)
- Milton's Rhetoric: Studies in his Defense of Liberty*. By WILBUR ELWYN GILMAN, Associate Professor of English. (Columbia, University of Missouri, 1939, pp. 193, \$1.25.)
- A Bibliography of British History, 1700-1715, with Special Reference to the Reign of Queen Anne*. Volume III. By WILLIAM THOMAS MORGAN and CHLOE SENER MORGAN. (Bloomington, Indiana University, 1939, pp. viii, 705, \$8.00.) This third volume of an impressive undertaking covers the following categories of

historical materials: (1) sources published in 1717 and thereafter; (2) correspondence, diaries, and journals; (3) periodicals, including newspapers; (4) plays; (5) secondary materials. A fourth volume, to contain addenda, corrigenda, lists of unpublished manuscripts, and an index, will complete the work. In the preface the editors make disarming acknowledgment of defects and plead with ample justification the abounding perplexities of their task. Inerrancy, omniscience, and consistency become the gods, but users of this bibliography will surely be content with the substantial approximations offered by the editors. The dominant problem has been to set limits of inclusion for a period in which British history is closely intertwined with Continental developments and with the history of overseas trade and empire, not to mention the interdependence of all European countries in cultural experience. The liberal and flexible spirit in which the editors have dealt with this problem may be illustrated by the inclusion of the better-known foreign periodicals along with British newspapers. The reviewer makes the following contributions to the corrigenda, freely admitting their insignificance. It is surprising to discover a work of W. E. B. Du Bois listed under *Bois* (X 247). G. D. H. Cole's initials have been disarranged on pages 31, 45, and 146. The proofreading of foreign titles has been careless, e.g., items T 76, U 57, U 127, and X 1991. Most hapless of all is U 543, which is incorrect throughout. The critical notes impress the reviewer as more superficial than those in the preceding volumes, for example those annotating Defoe's *Moll Flanders* (T 305) and Oldmixon's *History* (T 824). But these are trivial defects when measured against the dimensions and serviceableness of this excellent bibliography. Especially one may acknowledge with gratitude the prefaces to the sections on the press and the drama, which will vastly lighten and brighten the labors of historians in quest of brief, sound introductions to these subjects.

VIOLET BARBOUR.

Background for Queen Anne. By JAMES SUTHERLAND. (London, Methuen, 1939, pp. xi, 228, 10s. 6d.) Mr. Sutherland believes that "what history needs is more triviality and less importance". The method he has chosen for ministering to this need is biographical. In the course of the extensive newspaper reading compulsory for a biographer of Defoe his attention was attracted by certain obscure individuals whose names kept popping up. He proceeded to unearth all the information about them that was available. The record of Burridge the Blasphemer goes back to the moment of his birth, but it contains nothing creditable except his own claim to have been fond of his mother. John Matthew's brief record was cut off by his execution at nineteen for printing an attack upon the Hanoverian succession. John Lacy was dredged up in the net of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, along with his fellow fanatics Sir Richard Bulkeley and Thomas Emes, because of their connection with the so-called French prophets. Mr. Sutherland has built up a lively narrative that centers in Lacy's activities with this group, which off and on for nearly two years provided excitement for addicts of the supernatural. From trivialities about the obscure he turns to trivialities about the important. He shows Swift in his preference seeking days dining with those who could be counted upon to foot the bill and writing his *Journal to Stella* huddled up in bed. He pictures the dwindling of Addison's achievement after his marriage to the Countess of Warwick and follows the steps taken by four worthy guardians in pursuance of their duty toward Miss Addison, the singularly untempting fruit of that union. The pages of newspaper extracts which connect the chapters announce matters ranging from the Act of Union to the price of tea and help greatly in fulfilling the promise of the title.

LOUISE FARGO BROWN.

Calendar of Treasury Books preserved in the Public Record Office. Prepared by WILLIAM A. SHAW. Volume XVI, 1 October, 1700, to 31 December, 1701; Volume XIX, January, 1704, to March, 1705. (London, H. M. Stationery Office, New York, British Library of Information, 1938, pp. vii, 638, ccxlviii, 744, \$9.00, \$12.80.) The history of English public finance, which Dr. Shaw carried through the reign of William and Mary in his *Introduction to Volumes XI-XVII of the Calendar of Treasury Books* and began for the reign of Anne in his introduction to Volume XVIII (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII, 611), is continued to the end of 1704 in the introduction to Volume XIX of the series. The matter of chief interest is Dr. Shaw's minute examination of the war finance of the years 1702-1704, with the shortages and deficits caused by the failure of parliament to vote sufficient appropriations and by the decline of tax yields below expectations. Parliament's omission to make up the deficits as they occurred was no longer due to the personal unpopularity of the sovereign, as it had been in William's time, but to the lack of any "official, administrative or machine touch between the House and the Treasury", as a consequence of which the house of commons groped in the dark in the all important matters of tax yield. The situation was not improved, in Dr. Shaw's opinion, by the political intrigues of Robert Harley. In the course of his investigation into the tangled subject of parliamentary factiousness and public finance Dr. Shaw clears the Earl of Ranelagh, paymaster of the forces, of the "vicious and unjustifiable attack upon him by the 1702-4 Commissioners of Accounts". Transcripts of the accounts of receipts and expenditures for the years 1702 to 1704 are appended. The material dealing with the American plantations is particularly extensive. Is its abundance due to the fact that the tonnage and poundage duties paid on imported plantation goods were £221,410 in the year 1703-1704 as compared with £66,656 in 1695-96? Between the same years the tonnage and poundage duties on other imports (at the port of London) rose only from £191,164 to £215,236. F. C. DIETZ.

The Whig Supremacy, 1714-1760. By BASIL WILLIAMS. [The Oxford History of England, edited by G. N. Clark.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1939, pp. xviii, 464, \$5.00.) The age of the first two Georges Professor Williams regards as one of stable institutions, of common sense, of free enterprise, and of well-marked class distinctions—characteristics which gave it unity yet permitted the development of new ideas and movements which had significance later. This usual, even traditional interpretation simplifies for the author the problem of organization. He can describe as static the main structural outlines of the constitution, local government, the church, social and economic institutions, indicating for each the dynamic elements; he can set political chapters within that framework, stressing the part played by personalities; and he can find room for a chapter each on the colonies and India, Scotland and Ireland, science and history, the arts, and literature. The book is highly factual, larded with not a few fresh stories and quotations, plainly the work of a scholar at home in the standard sources and histories of the period, especially in politics and foreign affairs, and of unquestioned value for the student meeting eighteenth century England for the first time. It is more descriptive and more readable than Leadam's corresponding volume in the Hunt and Poole series. There is danger, however, in treating any period, even this one, as primarily static. Some recent historians would make a sharper break between the two reigns here covered than does Professor Williams. They would lay more stress upon the growing importance of parliament, they would not dismiss "factions" in as cavalier a fashion, they would assign more weight to developments in administrative de-

partments. Above all, after the manner of A. O. Lovejoy and Frederick Allen, they would try to unravel the twisted strands of eighteenth century thought. The critical bibliography of thirty pages is more than adequate for a volume of this size, though colonial historians should not consider the section on their subject as typical.

STANLEY PARGELLIS.

Thomas Carlyle and the Art of History. By LOUISE MERWIN YOUNG. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1939, pp. x, 219, \$2.00.) This work attempts on the one hand to analyze "Carlyle's fundamental attitude as a historian" and, on the other, to "reexamine his theories from the point of view of present-day tendencies in historiography" (pp. 171, 184). It is more successful in the former than in the latter, partly because Mrs. Young is evidently better acquainted with Carlyle than with modern historiography. Certainly she does an excellent job with several aspects of Carlyle's theory and practice as a literary man turned historian, especially with his intuitive and graphic approach to historical events and personalities. She is also successful when dealing with his conception of revolution, of history as "social biography", and of cause and dialectic in the historical process. The problem of sources and influences is ably handled, except for the relation of Carlyle to Coleridge and Scott, which receives little new light and rather meager treatment. The author's conclusions are based largely on Carlyle's achievement in *The French Revolution*, seldom bringing in his later and considerably modified practice in the *Cromwell* and the *Frederick*. Since the emphasis throughout is upon Carlyle's concept of the "social organism" as the prime historical force, only five and a half pages are devoted to the "hero doctrine" as such, a proportion which would undoubtedly have to be altered if the author were to study *Cromwell* and *Frederick* as carefully as she seems to have examined *The French Revolution*. On the whole, her study succeeds as an analysis of method. It is definitely inadequate when it attempts to place Carlyle among the great historians of the past and the present. This is a task which only a historian gifted alike with the love of facts and with a synoptical imagination can undertake with success.

CHARLES FREDERICK HARROLD.

An Economic History of Modern England. By E. A. J. JOHNSON. [Nelson's Political Science Series, Raymond Leslie Buell, General Editor.] (New York, Thomas Nelson, 1939, pp. viii, 230, \$1.75.) This work, based on a wide variety of standard secondary sources, is designed as a text for undergraduates and will fulfill its purpose admirably. It is well written, interesting, and concise, and the author has summarized in able fashion the main changes which have taken place in English economic life since 1700. It is remarkably free from careless errors. The main criticism which may be directed against it is its extraordinary brevity. This reviewer, however, must take issue with the author on certain rather important points. Professor Johnson mentions neither the Cobden Treaty system nor the highly significant era of European free trade from 1860 to 1879. During this period, despite his assertions to the contrary, Cobden's theories gained wide acceptance on the Continent, and the general level of European duties was considerably reduced by the operation of the most-favored-nation clause in the network of European commercial treaties. Moreover, his discussion of the great depression following 1873 suffers from oversimplification. England was not the sole country affected; the depression was world wide, hitting the United States, Germany, and France as well. The English, it is true, suffered most, but that was because they had no duties to protect their agricultural interests from the influx of cheap food products from abroad and because their industrial pros-

perity was so largely dependent on foreign markets. The discussion of Joseph Chamberlain's movement for tariff reform is also far from adequate. Criticisms of this sort, however, are inevitable in so brief a treatment. As a whole, Professor Johnson deserves commendation for covering as well as he has done the economic history of modern England in 230 pages. SYDNEY ZEBEL.

Gibraltar and the Mediterranean. By G. T. GARRATT. (New York, Coward-McCann, 1939, pp. 351, \$2.50.) This book—the first history of Gibraltar in nearly seventy years—was apparently written for the purpose of correcting some of the prejudices, false ideas, and misunderstandings entertained by the English people concerning the "Rock" and the Mediterranean area and of awakening them to the dangers confronting Britain from the fascist states. The author, an Englishman, believes that censorship keeps the majority of his countrymen in ignorance about the facts of recent world events. He takes Mr. Chamberlain to task for permitting Italy and Germany to establish themselves in Spain, thus upsetting Britain's traditional policy of maintaining a balance of power in the Mediterranean and weakening her commercial and strategic position in that region. This altered situation, together with the improvements in long-range guns, submarines, and airplanes, threatens to divert British and French shipping from the Mediterranean in a war against Germany or the Axis Powers and might even compel England to abandon Cyprus, Palestine, and British Somaliland. As for Gibraltar, which during its history has served as a fortress, naval base, and port of call, only the first service has remained comparatively unchanged. The book is timely and provides a popular and interesting story of Gibraltar and its place in the British imperial system. CHARLES W. HALLBERG.

English Grants-in-Aid: A Study in the Finance of Local Government. By HOWARD R. BOWEN, Assistant Professor of Economics, State University of Iowa. (Iowa City, State University of Iowa, 1939, pp. 156, \$1.00.)

The Canadian Manufacturers' Association: A Study in Collective Bargaining and Political Pressure. By S. D. CLARK. [University of Toronto Studies.] (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1939, pp. xiii, 107, \$2.00.)

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FRANCE, BELGIUM, AND THE NETHERLANDS

S. B. Clough

Blazing the Way West. By BLISS ISELY. (New York, Scribner's, 1939, pp. xiv, 286, \$3.00.) In this popular account of westward pathbreaking the author presents what might be called a pageant of the French in America, exhibiting that succession of colorful adventurers who pushed their way across the continent. Champlain, La Salle, Cadillac, Bienville, Bourgmond, the Mallets, the Chouteaus, and other notables are each given a brief spot on the great stage, while about them are gathered brigades of carefree *voyageurs*, *coureurs de bois*, and half breeds. France made a real contribution to pioneer America; her trading posts have become cities, and French names dot the map today. Mr. Isely's newspaper training has doubtless aided him in making an engaging presentation. To win popular interest, color and detail had to be provided. Such essentials, usually obtainable from primary historical sources, must be bought with a price. Popular writers too frequently are unwilling to make, or incapable of making, the careful research necessary to discover authentic detail and therefore resort to a manufactured article. The present writer has gone to sources and to good secondary accounts for data, so his story rings true. There are occasional minor slips, but on the whole the account is satisfactory. The volume is well illustrated with striking pictures and a series of maps. LEROY R. HAFEN.

Marie de l'Incarnation: Écrits spirituels et historiques. Published by Dom CLAUDE MARTIN. Edited by Dom ALBERT JAMET. Volume IV. (Paris, Desclée-De Brouwer, 1939, pp. 422, 85 fr.) Probably the most arresting figure on the stage of colonial Canada was the Ursuline nun of Quebec, Marie de l'Incarnation, "*cette claire française*". Her contributions to the literature of ascetical and mystical science, distinguished alike for psychological insight and balanced judgment, are classic. Her correspondence, though issuing from a cloister, is a historical source of the first value for the light it throws on the contemporary scene, which was Canada in its heroic age. This very otherworldly and *spirituelle* person, for all her de-

tachment from secular interests, kept in sympathetic touch with events and problems in the infant colony about her. Iroquois invasions, Jesuit martyrdoms, the education of Indian children, the government Frenchification program, the brandy trade with the natives—such matters among others came under comment from her versatile pen. Previous volumes of this edition of the writings of Marie de l'Incarnation have received notice in this journal (XXXVI, 433; XLII, 386). The volume here noticed presents the text of fifty-six of the nun's letters (1645-52). The editing, by the scholarly French Benedictine, Dom Albert Jamet, is of great excellence, particularly in its wealth and appositeness of annotation. Typographically, the volume is an engaging specimen of the printer's art.

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN.

De bevolking van Brabant in de XVII^{de} en XVIII^{de} eeuw. By A. COSEMANS. [Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis.] (Brussels, Paleis der Academiën, 1939, pp. xl, 261, 35 fr.) The author of this book gives a general survey of the demography of the duchy of Brabant during the eighteenth century. His study is based on the censuses of 1693, 1709, 1755, and 1784. A serious defect is the lack of a concluding chapter wherein the author could summarize his findings. Furthermore, only a limited use is made of the comparative method. A few interesting facts stand out in this book. The birth rate was extremely high, forty per thousand, but the population did not increase much until the second half of the eighteenth century because the death rate was also high. The author attributes the increase in population after 1750 to prolonged peace, improved economic conditions, and a better diet among the peasantry. He comes to the conclusion that by the end of the eighteenth century there was a serious danger of overpopulation in view of the limited available resources. As proof he points to the extent of pauperism. In certain sections of the Austrian Netherlands 40 per cent of the population was living wholly or partly on charity.

FLORENCE EDLER DE ROOVER.

Alexandrine Lucien-Bonaparte, princesse de Canino, 1778-1855. By FLEURIOT DE LANGLE. Preface by Louis Madelin. (Paris, Plon, 1939, pp. iii, 429, 40 fr.) The story of the woman for whom Lucien suffered the wrath and persecution of his illustrious brother.

L'Alsace économique et sociale sous le règne de Louis-Philippe. By MARIE-MADELEINE KAHAN-RABECQ. Two volumes. [Collection d'études économiques.] (Paris, Éditions des Presses Modernes, 1939, pp. 426, 276, 75 fr. for both volumes.) In the search for a more satisfactory explanation of the Revolution of 1848 than could be obtained from an analysis of strictly political history, French historians have in the last few years begun to make a careful study of the social and economic conditions of France during the July Monarchy. Since the World War there have appeared such excellent works on this period as Pierre Quentin-Bauchart, *La crise sociale de 1848: Les origines de la Révolution de février* (1920); Ed. Dolléans, *Histoire du mouvement ouvrier* (Vol. I, 1830-71, 1936); F. Ponteil, *La crise alimentaire dans le Bas-Rhin en 1847* (1925-26); and Rigaudais-Weiss, *Les enquêtes ouvrières en France entre 1830 et 1848* (1936), to mention only a few. To this list should now be added this extremely important book by Madame Kahan-Rabecq—important because it deals with one of the most highly industrialized areas of France at a time when mechanized production was beginning to have a profound effect on French labor, and because it contains a mass of well-digested material which has hitherto been unexplored. By way of providing a setting for Alsatian labor from 1830 to 1848 the author

devotes the first chapter of her book to a description of the industrial and agricultural development of the province. Then she proceeds to an account of the social and legal position of industrial workers, of their economic conditions, of the "labor movement", of the philanthropic activities of employers, and finally of the crisis of 1847. She presents valuable statistical tables about the cost of living, wages, workers' budgets, and public health. From all this it is clear that Alsatian labor experienced the usual problems of early industrialization and that economic conditions bred a penchant for "meditated violence"—a violence to which expression was given in 1848.

Documents diplomatiques français, 1871-1914. Série 1 (1871-1900), tome IX, 23 août, 1891-19 août, 1892. [Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Commission de publication des Documents relatifs aux origines de la guerre de 1914.] (Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1939, pp. xl, 729, 100 fr.) The greater part of these documents which relate to the Franco-Russian military convention of August 17, 1892, were printed without important changes in the *Livre jaune* of 1918. Except for the revelation that Ribot, the foreign minister, quieted Russia's resentment at the *Figaro's* article, "Alliance or Flirt", by attributing it to Blowitz's inspiration, they add little that is new. How Franco-Russian co-operation worked in the Near East is shown in detail. France's subordination to Russia in Bulgaria was scarcely repaid by the latter's reserved support in Egypt. Much fresh material is presented on the clash of imperialist interests with England about which little has been known hitherto. The Egyptian question became acute with the attempt to strengthen France's position on the accession of Abbas II. Of secondary importance were Siam, where a vain effort was made to avert future trouble by a compromise, the Newfoundland fisheries, West Africa, and the French missionaries in Uganda. Madagascar and Morocco occasioned serious tension. Irritated by Salisbury's coolness to demands that he implement England's recognition in 1890 of a French protectorate over the former, Waddington delivered what he himself described as almost an ultimatum. In Morocco France's claim to Taut, followed by Sir Charles Smith's mission to Fez, about which more information from English sources is desirable, and Spain's nervousness threatened to precipitate a serious crisis. Relations with Germany became unusually quiet after the withdrawal of the passport regulations in Alsace. Among the dispatches from French diplomatic posts those of Paul Cambon in Constantinople and Barrère in Munich are by all odds the most interesting, and there is an appendix of documents on Spain's relations with Italy and the Triple Alliance in 1887. Instructions from the foreign minister are gratifyingly numerous, but the complete absence of correspondence concerning relations with the Vatican is regrettable.

E. MALCOLM CARROLL.

The Recent Development of Economic Foreign Policy in the Netherlands East Indies. By J. VAN GELDEREN. [The Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, Switzerland.] (New York, Longmans, Green, 1939, pp. 90, \$2.00.) In the 1920's, as the culmination of some decades of free capitalist enterprise on the colonial model, the Netherlands Indies experienced an upward swirling economic boom which pushed them into an increasingly precarious dependence on world markets for their produce. Coincident with the economic expansion there was a great extension of government services with a constantly rising budget which in turn depended on the trade boom. With the appearance of the depression and the collapse of international trade the entire structure was threatened with rapid disintegration in both its economic and political aspects.

To meet this situation and to salvage what could be salvaged from the wreckage the government intervened vigorously through a series of measures which have had the cumulative effect of reversing the whole trend of development of the previous half century and placing the Indies in the ranks of the planned and protected economies. It is this story which Professor van Gelderen tells in the present small volume, combined with a brief but useful analysis of the added complication caused by the startlingly successful Japanese encroachment on the Western import market in the Indies. Within the limits imposed by its length the book gives a valuable survey of the economic facts, figures, and trends of the depression period. In a concluding chapter the author attempts an evaluation and a forecast which lays considerable stress on a process of economic decolonization centering in part in the continued growth, under close governmental supervision, of native and local industries.

RUPERT EMERSON.

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GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND HUNGARY

E. N. Anderson

Martin Luther: The Story of his Life. By ELSIE SINGMASTER. (Philadelphia, Board of Publication of the United Lutheran Church in America, 1939, pp. 138, \$1.00.) "The volume contains no original material, but is intended to serve as an introduction to the longer, richer, and more scholarly records of a great life which abound and to the noble writings of the Reformer himself."

Entwicklungsgeschichte des deutschen Heerwesens. Edited by EUGEN VON FRAUENHOLZ with the assistance of WALTER ELZE and PAUL SCHMITTHENNER. Volume III, *Das Heerwesen in der Zeit des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, Part II, *Die Landesdefension.* By EUGEN VON FRAUENHOLZ. (Munich, C. H. Beck, 1939, pp. xii, 364, 12 M.) To read this volume is a dispiriting experience. A subject which might well have been disposed of in a few pregnant paragraphs is here inflated to fill a lumbering volume of over three hundred pages. Its general design is the same as that of the previous volumes of this ambitious history of the German army (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIV, 987): a brief narrative text, which in scholarship and grasp falls pitifully short of the older works of Jähns and Delbrück, is followed by a copious collection of documents which give some real value to the book, though many of them are either pointless or irrelevant. Its central theme

is the effort on the part of German principalities, chiefly Bavaria, to establish a "Landesdefension", *i.e.*, a militia which was to replace the marauding and un dependable mercenary army. The effort failed, and this failure was due to the passive resistance of feudal aristocracy and peasantry alike, for these semi-feudal polities had not yet matured into modern states with a definite public consciousness. Wherever the external scaffolding of such a militia was in fact set up, it merely served as a reservoir from which the mercenary army was recruited.

WALTER L. DORN.

The Failure of Constitutional Emergency Powers under the German Republic.

By FREDERICK MUNDELL WATKINS. [Harvard Political Studies.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1939, pp. 148, \$2.00.) This volume presents a closely reasoned, well-written argument on one of the most important current aspects of political organization—the problem of constitutional emergency powers. The factual illustrations are drawn from the experiences of the Weimar Republic, which, because of its birth in military defeat and bankruptcy and its constant struggle to maintain itself against opposition movements from both the left and the right, was especially subject to severe strains and stresses. Its democratic constitution, moreover, bestowed upon the government an unusual degree of latitude in the potential application of emergency powers. Actually, "emergency institutions of one sort or another were in operation during nearly one-half of the entire period from the fall of the Empire to the rise of Hitler", and the number of emergency decrees issued under authority of Article 48 of the constitution to September, 1932, totaled 233. In the end, this article, intended for the defense of the republic in times of crisis, when constitutional rights might temporarily be suspended for the sake of efficient action, was used in a deliberate and successful attempt to overthrow the Weimar Constitution. Dr. Watkins's careful and interesting study leads logically to his conclusion that the "seeds of self-destruction" inherent in the German document of 1919 are also present in the governing instruments of "other constitutional states".

WALTER CONSUELO LANGSAM.

The German Colonial Claim. By the Rt. Hon. L. S. AMERY, M. P. (London, W.

and R. Chambers, 1939, New York, Longmans, 1940, pp. 198, 7s. 6d., \$2.50.) Anticipating the re-emergence of the colonial issue, a well-known British imperialist restates the case against the return of Germany's colonies. He employs the same old arguments but invigorates them with a spirit of defense against Hitler's expected demands. The tone of the book coincides with the stiffening of British "resistance" on the eve of the present war.

MARY E. TOWNSEND.

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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

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RUSSIA AND POLAND

Avrahm Yarmolinsky

An Outline of Modern Russian Historiography. By ANATOLE G. MAZOUR. With an Introduction by Robert J. Kerner. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1939, pp. ix, 130, \$1.25.) This slender and unpretentious volume is a valuable addition to Slavic studies in America if merely because it represents the first account in English of the development of Russian historical writing. But it is in fact considerably more than that; it is a reliable and impartial handbook of Russian historiography, indispensable to the scholar. In a largely chronological enumeration of the leading Russian historians and their principal works, such as this, it would be vain to look for an analysis of the influences, both social and intellectual, which have shaped the development of Russian historical thought and have given it a highly significant place in Russian thought in general. Although the author makes an occasional enlightening reference to the continuing agenda of Russian historical science, limitations of space and construction have prevented him from following out this theme consistently. As a result the reader is sometimes left in contemplation of largely unrelated facts about historians and their work. The artificiality of chronological periodization is illustrated by the inclusion of Karamzin in the nineteenth century, although his work stems almost entirely from eighteenth century traditions. The casual reader may also be puzzled by the citations of Pushkin's contradictory opinions of Karamzin without any attempt at reconciling them (pp. 26, 29). When Pokrovsky's bitter persecution of dissenting historians is attributed to his "hatred of those who had once enjoyed a freedom of expression that had been denied to him" (p. 85), one cannot help recalling that Pokrovsky's more lasting works were published before 1917 and that he was a prominent contributor to a monumental history published in honor of the tercentenary of the Romanov dynasty. In general it is an oversimplification to interpret the recent struggles on the "historical front" solely or chiefly in terms of "Stalinism *vs.* Trotskyism" (pp. 91, 95).

PHILIP E. MOSELY.

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FAR EASTERN HISTORY

C. H. Peake

An Outline of Modern Chinese Family Law. By MARIUS HENDRIKUS VAN DER VALK. (Peking, Henri Vetch, 1939, pp. 219.) This admirable analysis of the new family law for China, which came into force on May 5, 1931, has been made by a scholar who has had both legal training and a thorough grounding in Chinese at the University of Leiden. The code itself is "the outcome of years of effort at modernization by the Chinese courts and by the successive commissions for codification" set up since 1900 and is therefore a reflection of the effect of the impact of Western customary and legal concepts and practices in the realm of family relationships upon a slowly modernizing China. Dr. Van der Valk, in a general historical introduction, has carefully brought out this conflict, contrasting the traditional concepts of law and the family with the principles underlying this new code, and then traced the subsequent efforts at interpretation and application of the code. This code, he asserts, is "in many respects characteristically Chinese" and cannot be properly classed as belonging "to a certain group of legal systems such as Anglo-American, Continental, etc. law" but is a "remarkable effort at the creation of a new legal system" (p. 58).

An Interpretation of the Life of Viscount Shibusawa. By KYUGORO OBATA. (Tokyo, Tokyo Insatsu Kabushiki Kaisha, 1937, pp. 399.) The late Viscount Eiichi Shibusawa, whose notable career was ended on November 11, 1931, at the age of ninety-one years, is regarded by a host of his contemporaries both in Japan and abroad as one of the most dynamic leaders in the economic and social revolution which was ushered in with the Meiji Restoration. The volume under review was written and compiled by the English secretary of the viscount and published by *Zaidan Hojin Shibusawa Sei-en O Kinen Kai* (The Viscount Shibusawa Memorial Foundation, Inc.). As the title suggests, it is an interpretation, a memoir, a eulogistic sketch of a great career. It is not in any sense a

critical biography. Nevertheless Mr. Obata has assembled much which will be of value both to the student and to the biographer of Viscount Shibusawa. The most useful chapters are those dealing with the founding by the viscount of the *Dai Ichi Ginko*, the first of Japan's great modern private banks, and the subsequent development of his broad business interests. Of special interest to students of Oriental business philosophy is the chapter on Viscount Shibusawa as a student of Chinese and Japanese literature. Here are produced in Japanese, with English translations, a number of his poetic compositions. A lengthy chapter devoted to his interest in the development of international amity as the natural complement of a society of national states throws into bold relief Japan's present tendencies toward extreme nationalism.

PAUL H. CLYDE.

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 MIKUNIYA HIROSHI. Über die Vermittlerrolle Grants beim Streit um die Ryūkyūinseln [in Japanese]. *Toho Gakuho*, Oct.
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UNITED STATES HISTORY

E. C. Burnett

GENERAL

- Polish Past in America, 1608-1865*. By MIECISLAUS HAIMAN. (Chicago, Polish Roman Catholic Union Archives and Museum, 1939, pp. xiv, 178, \$2.00.) This work is obviously intended as a semipopular handbook, consisting in the main of sketchy accounts of leading Poles associated with American history. In addition to numerous pictures of these Poles, there is a generous number of interesting illustrations of various kinds. An attempt at scholarliness is manifest in the very few notes and in the bibliographies at the end of the chapters, which are supplemented by a few additional titles at the end of the book. For those who can read Polish the numerous references to Polish books should be useful. One could wish, however, that the author had cited documentary evidence for some of his striking statements, such as that Jacob Sandusky was the first white man from an English colony to descend the Mississippi (p. 20), and that there were one thousand Poles in the Confederate army (p. 109). There seems to be too ready citing of tradition without proof (pp. 16, 23).
 ELLA LONN.
- Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1732. Calendar . . . 1733*. Edited by CECIL HEADLAM and ARTHUR PERCIVAL NEWTON. (London, H. M. Stationery Office, New York, British Library of Information,

1939, pp. 1, 362, lii, 348, \$6.50 each.) The founding of Georgia and the passage of the Molasses Act were the leading events of 1732 and 1733, yet neither receives much attention in these volumes. The charter and a few other Georgia papers are reproduced, but the editor intends to bring together in a later volume of the *Calendar* all the documents of the Georgia trustees for the period 1732-52 among the Colonial Office papers. Most of the memorials and petitions arguing for or against the Molasses Act had been presented before 1732. The issue was already closed, and only the actual legislation remained to be put through. But no sooner was the act passed than the sugar planters began to call for further help. They asked especially for permission to export sugar directly to the European continent. One Barbadian also argued that an increased importation of rum into England would reduce the consumption there of French brandy, "a commodity that is as pernicious in every degree as rum is beneficial". There are several useful reports on colonial trade and manufactures, but the most interesting papers deal with internal problems of individual colonies: the fruitless efforts of Jamaica to put down the Maroon rebellion; the quarrels of Governor Belcher with the Massachusetts assembly; the misrule of Governor Burrington of North Carolina; and a controversy over parliamentary privilege in South Carolina. Two documents raise an intriguing question. In writing about the provincial secretaryship Governor Cosby of New York declared: "I make ye right use of Mr. Clarke he is my first minaster." Later a South Carolina lawyer described one of the Rutledges as "His Excellency's Prime Minister". Were these merely casual phrases, or was the position of Walpole in England exerting a real influence upon the structure of colonial politics? LEONARD W. LABAREE.

The College charts its Course: Historical Conceptions and Current Proposals. By R. FREEMAN BUTTS. (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1939, pp. xvi, 464, \$3.00.) This is not a history of American higher education, nor even of the college as such, but a survey of curricular controversies from colonial times to the present. Within its self-imposed limits it is a valuable study, intended to enable the reader "to judge between the relative values of different proposals for the reform of the college" (p. 4). The historical part, though only a means to an end, takes up over half the volume, the remainder being an evaluation of current programs. For the sake of clarity the discussion is strung along two opposing lines of educational philosophy, labeled, in acknowledged oversimplification, as conservative and progressive. Though the author inclines, by his own admission (p. 14), to the latter view, he allows full expression to the exponents of discipline, required courses, and the "Genteel Tradition". Even so the conservatives come off second best. The organization is clear. A general statement of the nature of the controversy in a given period is usually followed by an analysis of its leading theorists; among those so treated are Jefferson, Ticknor, Wayland, Eliot, Gilman, Barnard, Dewey, and Hutchins. In due recognition of old-world origins the views of prominent Europeans from Aristotle and Aquinas to Herbart and Huxley are included. GEORGE P. SCHMIDT.

Lewis Evans. By LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON. To which is added Evans's *A Brief Account of Pennsylvania*, etc. (Philadelphia, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1939, pp. 246, \$7.50.) Recently there has been a revival of interest in Lewis Evans, a Philadelphia cartographer and geographer who flourished chiefly during the years 1737-56. Starting with the considerable literature about this obscure scientist, Professor Gipson has added the results of his own researches and from the whole has produced a biographical account that doubtless con-

tains all the personal information that is now discoverable. Evans's maps and writings relate to the middle colonies—particularly Pennsylvania—and to the Ohio valley and for half a century had much influence on the cartography of this region. He favored British expansion into the West and in 1755 proposed a colony on the Ohio, with a separate governor and an equitable form of government and with "full liberty of conscience". Some two thirds of the volume consists of reproductions—three of writings and six of maps. These are mostly from published sources, all of which, presumably, are found in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. An interesting feature of "Analysis Number I, 1755" is its description of the rivers of the Ohio region. "A Map of the Indian Walking Purchase, 1737", the earliest map, is from a manuscript belonging to the society. Evans made two observations which are of much general interest. The first is found on the margin of his map of 1749: "All our great Storms begin to Lee-ward: thus a NE storm shall be a Day sooner in Virginia than Boston". Doubtless he derived this generalization from Franklin's study of a northeast storm of 1743, a milestone in the history of meteorology. As far as is known, Evans was the first to put this natural law into print. The second observation is one hinting that the colonies if ill used might seek independence. This beautiful book is a valuable addition to geographical writings on America.

CHARLES O. PAULLIN.

La pénétration du continent américain par les Canadiens français, 1763-1846: Traitants, explorateurs, missionnaires. By BENOÎT BROUILLETTE. Preface by M. l'abbé Lionel Groulx. (Montreal, Granger Frères, 1939, pp. 242, \$1.00.) This systematic account of the achievements of French-Canadian fur traders, explorers, and missionaries in the interior of North America between the Treaty of Paris and the passage of Oregon to the United States should be welcomed by students of American and Canadian history who have repeatedly been made vaguely aware of the ubiquitous French and *métis voyageurs* and priests but have hitherto had no comprehensive summary to refer to. M. Brouillette distinguishes himself among French-Canadian historians by his broad knowledge of Anglo-Canadian and American historiography and by the adoption, in his critical apparatus, of the best canons of North American scholarship. His map and his illustrations are excellent. His original contributions in drawing attention to little-known or unpublished narratives (Pt. III, chs. II and III) deserve attention. His publishers have served him well. He himself makes no unwarranted claims for his compatriots but points out that they were the field force, the "lard-eaters" or "hominy-eaters", whose excellence of physique and cheerful temperament enabled more privileged and ambitious leaders to range the continent from Michilimackinac to Astoria and from California to the Arctic. It is satisfying to discover that they formed a substantial proportion of the Beaver Club of Montreal in its palmiest days. It is salutary also to remember that the French priests provided a most useful buffer for the shocking impact of white upon Indian culture.

J. B. BREBNER.

The Treasury Department: Origin, Development, Organization, Divisions, Bureaus, Agencies, Functions. (Washington, Office of the Secretary, Treasury Department, 1939, pp. 41, mimeographed.) The contents of the volume are fairly well indicated in the title. To particularize, there is a chapter on "How Money goes into and comes out of the Treasury", accompanied by charts. There is also a chapter on the building, including not merely a circumstantial history and description of the building itself but also of such matters as heating, light-

ing, water coolers, etc. Appended is a chronological list of the secretaries of the treasury. In general the material is well organized and well presented. It must, however, be said that the brief account of the origin of the treasury department is scarcely adequate, even measured on the scale of this offering as a whole. Besides, there are inaccuracies. For instance, the treasury department may more properly be dated from the appointment of two treasurers on July 29, 1775, than from the resolution of February 17, 1776. Further, Robert Morris was appointed Superintendent of Finance on February 20, not September 20, 1781, the latter being the date when the old board of treasury ceased to function. With regard to the board of treasury of 1784, John Lewis Gervais, although he was included in the first appointment, declined, and Arthur Lee was later chosen in his stead.

Die Neutralität der Vereinigten Staaten. By ERWIN NEUMANN. (Berlin, Junker und Dünhaupt, 1939, pp. 126, 5.50 M.) This German pamphlet, of the better dissertational type, covers the history and development of American neutrality to the end of 1938. While the author's grasp of the essential features of the problem is firm and inclusive, he is most at home with the legal aspect, though somewhat lacking even here in desirable precision. On the political and historical side he is weaker. A good illustration of his views is provided by the remark: "North America sees the world and world politics as London interprets them to the Americans. Spiritual dependence, in the beginning perhaps only a linguistic necessity, became a general and non-debatable habit" (p. 101). Considering the usual primacy of the military argument in the Third Reich, the author might have come to the rather obvious conclusion that this "dependence", in actuality, spells "security", that is to say, that the United States feels more secure with the prevailing English notions on a number of things including the law and practice of neutrality than with the corresponding German interpretations. As a matter of German war preparation—and what in retrospect would not appear as such?—these two problems seem to have occupied the author largely: What does Germany have to expect for herself from American neutrality in case of war? What ought she to expect? Under the latter heading a claim is of potential interest which in the present war has as yet been raised only against weak states like Switzerland, namely, that the neutral state is bound to insure impartial behavior on the part of its citizens by its own domestic measures; in this respect the author finds American neutrality legislation, leaving liberty of the press intact, rather faulty and unsatisfactory—to the Germans.

ALFRED VAGTS.

A Guide for Courses in the History of American Agriculture. By EVERETT E. EDWARDS, Agricultural Economist, Bureau of Agricultural Economics. (Washington, United States Department of Agriculture, 1939, pp. viii, 192, mimeographed.)

Forever the Farm. By MARION NICHOLL RAWSON. (New York, Dutton, 1939, pp. 380, \$5.00.) The title of this book, while not quite descriptive of the factual contents, carries the essential theme, that there is an enduring something about the land which satisfies. It involves the "Good Earth" complex, which is so thoroughly appreciated by those who have grown up on the farm. Mrs. Rawson's "farm" is an Eastern farm, but the spirit pervades rural life everywhere. The theme is carried by related sketches of the farmer and his surroundings. It includes not an abstract analysis of the farmer but a type character study revealing his philosophy of life by his fireside conversation, his neighborly greet-

ing, and his acts of helpfulness. The descriptions of the farm buildings are not those of an orthodox history of architecture but reflect the owner's ideas and methods of life. There is an account of the farmyard and the barnyard, the "hand made helpers" such as the scythes and husking pins, and, in an aptly named chapter on "animal haberdashery", the yokes, bells, saddles, etc., worn by the cattle and horses. Significantly Mrs. Rawson ends her book with a chapter called "Time for a Tell", i.e., those communions, whether at the blacksmith shop, over a wagon wheel, or on a stool beside the fireplace, at which much of the spirit of the farm was mellowed and passed on. The buildings and the tools represented the physical level, but the "tell" carried the spiritual core. The volume is well illustrated with drawings by the author. RUSSELL H. ANDERSON.

Furs to Furrows: An Epic of Rugged Individualism. By SYDNEY GREENBIE. (Caldwell, Caxton Printers, 1939, pp. 413, \$3.50.) Furs are mentioned in this book, but furrows are conspicuous by their absence. The title actually has little to do with the author's thesis. Mr. Greenbie seems to have been impelled to write from a righteous indignation at hearing the United States compared to Japan and Germany as a land-grabbing nation. "Manifest Destiny was a really great and instinctive good" (p. 373) and "until this is understood, we shall accept the Machiavellian subterfuges that such conquests as that of Japan in Manchuria are no worse than our 'imperialistic war on Mexico'" (p. 49) are probably a fair summary of the book's central argument. One chapter is entitled "Washington Never Meant That". Aside from the author's purpose of proving American imperialism a boon to the continent the book has little cohesion. A few fur traders, like Manuel Lisa, John Colter, John Jacob Astor, William Henry Ashley, Jedediah Smith, Kit Carson, Doctor John McLoughlin, and some others, are discussed in a casual way. Many other frontiersmen are referred to with a show of erudition that is marred by constant inaccuracy in details. One reads on and on wondering what such a chapter as "Wiving in the Wilderness" or "The Horse Rides the Indian" has to do with the purpose of the book. Finally one reaches page 381 and the appendix, completely baffled as to why the book was ever written. The appendix consists largely of Dr. Carl P. Russell's "Proposed Museum of the American Fur Trade", which outlines a plan for a visual history of the fur trade at St. Louis. There are no footnotes. A bibliography fills pages 397 to 406, but no attempt is made by the author to evaluate the items in this list, which includes good, bad, and indifferent. GRACE LEE NUTE.

Peter Porcupine in America: The Career of William Cobbett, 1792-1800. By MARY ELIZABETH CLARK. (6 South Brighton Avenue, Upper Darby, Pennsylvania, Claude S. McIver, agent for the author, 1939, pp. v, 193, \$2.00.) Literary and journalistic propagandists, Swift, Defoe, and William Cobbett, for example, have played a prominent part in politics and in social reorganization. In recent years both the historian and the literary critic have shown a renewed interest in the borderline writers, hitherto often neglected. Mr. G. D. H. Cole recently set forth Cobbett's contact from 1797 to 1800 with the British minister to the United States in the *Letters from William Cobbett to Edward Thornton* (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIV, 190). And now Miss Clark has made a welcome attempt, in her doctoral thesis in English, to appraise the "Peter Porcupine" of the Federalist period. The expectation that the author would analyze the literary skill and technique of Cobbett is somewhat disappointed, and the best parts of her work are historical in the usual sense. Some of the details might well have been omitted to present more boldly the significance of his career in America and the climate of opinion in which he worked. Miss Clark's chapter on Jay's Treaty,

one of the best, clearly reveals the dominating influence of Cobbett as the leading exponent of anti-French sentiment. Talleyrand, also an exile in Philadelphia, correctly estimated the power of Cobbett as a creator of pro-British opinion. The choice of such subjects as this is excellent, and it is to be hoped that the author will expand her study.

FRANK J. KLINGBERG.

A Catalogue of the Books of John Quincy Adams deposited in the Boston Athenæum, with Notes on Books, Adams Seals, and Book-Plates. By HENRY ADAMS. With an Introduction by WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD. (Boston, printed for the Athenæum, 1938, pp. 152, \$7.50.) It is a pleasure to see the name of the author of *The Boston Book Market* (1917) on the title page of another of those studies in reading habits which are slowly laying down a framework for the comprehension of American intellectual life of the earlier periods. In his analysis in this instance of the library of a distinguished man, Mr. Ford shows the sense of significant relationship between books and men that characterized his earlier study of the book trade of an intellectually advanced community. In his notes on the provenance and associations of the John Quincy Adams books, Mr. Henry Adams considers in conjunction the man, particular events, and particular books, thereby bringing into being a fresh element in the biographical study of the sixth President. Mr. Ford traces the origin of the John Quincy Adams library, now in the Boston Athenæum, to the parental home and its early development to the European years of the fortunate youth who formed it. We learn that so far as direct quotation or other definite evidences of employment are concerned, "the writings or speeches of John Quincy Adams show little dependence" upon his books. But it is safe to assume that his was one of those cases in which clarity and strength of principle had their roots in the intellectual experience of wide and solid reading. In addition to the collection of books there are ten thousand or so pamphlets known to have formed part of the John Quincy Adams library, most of which also are now in the Boston Athenæum. While recognizing the cost in time and effort needed for the task, one hopes that something may later be said about this group of miscellaneous current material which Mr. Ford characterizes as "a veritable treasure-house of the pamphlets of the day".

LAWRENCE C. WROTH.

Catholic Immigrant Colonization Projects in the United States, 1815-1860. By Sister MARY GILBERT KELLY. (New York, United States Catholic Historical Society, 1939, pp. ix, 290, \$3.00.) This comprehensive, carefully written account of the repeated attempts by Catholics to settle the West without losing their religion throws fresh light upon a relatively neglected feature of the opening of the frontier. It traces the movement of German, Irish, French, and Italian communities along the advancing line of settlement from Maine to Minnesota in a process culminating in the failure in 1856 of the Buffalo Convention's attempt to transplant 100,000 Irishmen to Canada and the West. The author might have been more careful in defining "colonization projects"; sporadic settlements at Pompey, and by LeRay at Black River, primarily speculative in character, should not have entered into the discussion. Further familiarity with the causes of immigration would have prevented the ascription of its decline in 1838 to the panic of the preceding year rather than to the revival of agricultural prosperity in Europe. More careful perusal of the *Boston Pilot* would have revealed that the "unknown reasons" turning a "certain John Tucker" (a prominent Boston Democratic politician) against Donohoe's New England Land Company were the partnership in it of the Know-Nothing, J. V. C. Smith. Occasional fascinating glimpses of the colonies at Glansdorf, Jasper, and St. Nazianz suggest how

interesting and instructive would be a study of the effect of Catholic colonization traditions, stretching back among the "Benedictine farmers" for centuries, upon frontier life and institutions. But the author has hardly touched upon this phase of the problem. These lacunae, however, do not detract from the general usefulness of the work. Based upon wide use of local records, immigrant newspapers, and diocesan archives, it provides a welcome antidote to the conventional accounts of Catholic and particularly of Irish immigration which uncere- moniously shuffle a predominantly agricultural population into the Eastern cities and leave it there without explanation.

OSCAR HANDLIN.

Andrew Jackson and the Constitution. By FRANCES NORENE AHL. (Boston, Christopher Publishing House, 1939, pp. xi, 168, \$2.00.) The author of this little volume presents very clearly the opinion that Andrew Jackson, although he possessed many good qualities, nevertheless exerted, as President of the United States, a demoralizing influence on the popular mind. Of the reasons given for this view, none appear to be new or founded on any independent research.

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT.

Lincoln, 1840-1846: Being the Day-by-Day Activities of Abraham Lincoln from January 1, 1840, to December 31, 1846. By HARRY E. PRATT. (Springfield, Abraham Lincoln Association, 1939, pp. xli, 391, \$3.75.) This book forms part of a series; two previous volumes, by Benjamin P. Thomas and Paul M. Angle, cover the years from 1847 to March, 1861 (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLII, 800). A similar book dealing with the period from 1830 to 1840 is in preparation; when it is completed Lincoln's whole mature life down to the presidency will have been brought under this day-by-day survey. The plan of the previous volumes is continued. Each page covers a week; the days are in equal-sized compartments allowing about seventy words for each; days for which there is no record are left blank; longer entries are relegated to an appendix. Untraced days are less numerous than might be expected; seldom is a whole week left blank. Citations are faithfully given to sources of information, which are often unpublished. The seven years treated include a portion of Lincoln's service in the legislature, his part in the "lobby" and "junto" at Springfield, a severe emotional crisis which is presented as a broken engagement with Mary Todd (not a defaulted wedding), his marriage, the birth of Robert and Edward Lincoln, his election to Congress (August 3, 1846), and a very active part of his law career. His partners in this period were Stuart till April, 1841, Logan till December, 1844, then Herndon. Collection of data for the volume has involved intensive search in court records, newspapers, published writings, and a considerable range of manuscripts. The editorship of Dr. Pratt is competent throughout, and the value of the book is augmented by his well-written introduction, maps of the law circuit, annotations, and index. The volume has both the scholarly stamp and the distinction of appearance that is characteristic of publications issued by the Abraham Lincoln Association.

J. G. RANDALL.

Journal of Rudolph Friederich Kurz: An Account of his Experiences among Fur Traders and American Indians on the Mississippi and Upper Missouri Rivers during the Years 1846 to 1852. Translated by Myrtis Jarrell. Edited by J. N. B. HEWITT. [Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1937, pp. ix, 382, 60 cents.)

Keogh, Comanche, and Custer. By EDWARD S. LUCE, Captain, E. O., U. S. Army, Retired. (St. Louis, privately published, 5356 Page Boulevard, 1939, pp. xvii, 127, regular edition \$3.00, de luxe edition \$7.50.) This book, though primarily of

interest to the Seventh United States Cavalry and to the army generally, is a really valuable contribution to the history of one of our most distinguished regiments. It contains a well-documented and complete account of the career of Captain Miles Walter Keogh, an Irishman who served in the papal army as a second lieutenant, beginning in October, 1860; distinguished himself in the American Civil War; and died heroically at the Battle of the Little Big Horn as an officer of the Seventh Cavalry on June 25, 1876. He was present at the Battle of the Washita on November 27, 1868. Following the account of this gallant officer's career, our author tells the story of his famous horse Comanche, the only survivor of the Custer fight found on the field of battle. Comanche became the mascot of the Seventh Cavalry and was named in orders as the second commanding officer. In addition the book contains an appendix comprising a variety of documents and letters having to do with Captain Keogh, Comanche, and the regiment to which they both belonged. Possibly the most valuable portion of the book is the author's interpretation and analysis of the probable military evolutions during the Battle of the Little Big Horn, a chapter of extraordinary interest to all who have studied that fateful conflict. On controversial matters, such as the character of Custer and the motives of the Indians, Captain Luce, as is natural, shows strong sympathy for the army and the general. He presents strong arguments and a number of documents offered in exoneration of General Custer. The book is well illustrated by rare photographs and is one of the best things of its kind I have seen.

STANLEY VESTAL.

American Tel and Tel: The Story of a Great Monopoly. By HORACE COON. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1939, pp. vii, 276, \$3.00.) We all know American Tel and Tel through its services. Some are still alive who have witnessed every step of its development. Yet few know in detail how it has attained its dominant position in the world of communications. This the present volume tries to relate. It and a differently oriented book on the same subject by another author, both printed last year, glean most of their material from records of the government's recent elaborate investigation of the company. The volume under review, however, is not an arid document but a dramatic description of the impact of an epochal invention upon society. Bell secured his first patent in the Centennial year, an anniversary many still remember. Two years later, in 1878, several thousand telephones were already in use, an exchange was operating at New Haven, and the original Bell Company of seven members and with resources of a few thousand dollars, which owned the basic and the rapidly multiplying improvement patents, had organized a subsidiary corporation licensed to handle all telephone business in New England. Subsequent expansion throughout the country and beyond and into new fields of electric sound and picture transmission and instrument manufacture followed this pattern, until today "the five-billion-dollar Bell system" embraces two hundred subordinate corporations and "is the largest aggregation of capital ever controlled by a single company". Six decades of crowded history between this modest beginning and gigantic culmination record unprecedented progress of invention, the rise of new forms of business organization, battles between big financial interests and between public and private interests, and the emergence of new problems relating to the social control of industry. These make the substance of an arresting story, which the author tells entertainingly and apparently with studied fairness.

VICTOR S. CLARK.

The Case of the Columbus Letter. An Address prepared for the Washington Square College Book Club of New York University by RANDOLPH G. ADAMS.

(New York, privately printed for the Book Club, 1939, pp. 32, \$1.50.) This is an item primarily for the bibliographer, though it is of some interest to the historian. Mr. Adams relates in an entertaining manner the antecedents and progress of the suit brought in 1895 by General Brayton Ives of New York against the London bookselling firm of Ellis and Elvey. Ives sought to recover £900 he had paid the Londoners for a quarto supposed to be the earliest printing of Columbus's Spanish Letter to Santangel describing his first voyage. When the volume proved to be an imitation of a careless copy of the quarto in the Ambrosian Library in Milan, the general commenced legal action which revealed him as an indiscriminating collector. Students of Columbus material have known of this case, which was finally withdrawn from the courts, but in general it has been forgotten. Charles Evans Hughes represented the plaintiff, such experts as Victor H. Paltsits and Wilberforce Eames gave testimony, while Henry Harrisse, from afar, wrote his usual sarcastic comments. The present reviewer, having seen the penciled notes by Harrisse on the Proceedings, now in the Clements Library, feels that Mr. Adams could further have enlivened his account by including some of them. Historians will be chiefly interested in the first part of the work. This deals with the earliest printed editions of the Columbus letters and the numerous forgeries that have appeared, particularly in the late nineteenth century when the widely celebrated Columbus quatercentenary created a demand which overtaxed the limited supply. A few slips appear. To say that Ferdinand and Isabella themselves turned over the log of the first voyage to the historian Las Casas (p. 6) is surely to strain the chronological probabilities. The log, moreover, may be consulted in a later translation than that of John Boyd Thacher, the only one given by the author.

CHARLES E. NOWELL.

American Diplomacy and the Boer War. By JOHN H. FERGUSON. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1939, pp. xi, 240, \$2.50.) Mr. Ferguson's book adds to our knowledge not only of American policy during the South African War but of Boer and European diplomacy as well. It would have been more complete if its careful inquiries had been presented against a wider historical background. Mr. Ferguson is conscious of the fact that Anglo-American relations had recently undergone a decisive improvement and that in this lies the key to his subject. But he does not attempt sufficiently to analyze the state of Anglo-American relations as a whole or to depict and assess the broad objectives of American foreign policy in one of its most formative periods. The scant attention paid to the Alaskan boundary and isthmian canal controversies may explain how the hoary myth could be here resurrected that under McKinley the United States government was "an annex to the British Foreign Office". Far Eastern affairs, moreover, are ignored, although they were bound to have an effect on John Hay's treatment of other current difficulties in which Russia and Germany played some part. For Hay conceived of American problems after the war with Spain in terms of the new world position of the United States, and it was in this view of national interest that his efforts and achievement were rooted. It is therefore doubtful whether a full appraisal can be made of his stand on a particular issue unless it is interpreted in the light of a consistent long-range policy and not merely as a product of bias, emotion, or impulse. If Russia and Germany arrange things, Hay contended, the balance is lost for ages. Forty years later can it be thought that these were the words of a snob and a sentimentalist, or did Hay, imbued with a real sense of world order, manifest a quality of foresight and statesmanship that his countrymen have been curiously reluctant to record and appreciate?

LIONEL M. GELBER.

The Federal Income Tax. By ROY G. BLAKEY and GLADYS C. BLAKEY, University of Minnesota. (London, New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1940, pp. xvii, 640, \$7.50.) A scholarly work, written by authors who have mastered the subject and are able to present it in clear and interesting fashion, this is a book which commands admiration. Professor and Mrs. Blakey, who are well known for their work in the field of taxation, bring to the task of writing this book an intimate knowledge of legislation and of the economic and fiscal intricacies of the problem. This has been broadened by intimate contact with the Treasury Department and the confidence of leaders in the movement so that the fruit of their long labors bears evident marks of authoritativeness and completeness. The income tax is treated as a continuing adjustment of fiscal machinery to the changing economic and social demands of a democratic society. Its origin is found in the determination of Western and Southern farmers that Eastern industrialists should pay a fairer share of taxes. The dramatic struggle to realize this purpose constitutes a valuable case study of democratic processes. The radical demands of reformers, the opposition of the propertied classes, the subtleties of political intrigue, and the clash of personalities make a story whose interest never flags. After a historical introduction the successive income tax laws are described, from 1913 to 1939. Three somewhat technical chapters complete the study. In a final chapter the authors state their conclusions. As a fiscal device for obtaining revenue the income tax is given full approval, though the difficulties of administration are fully recognized. Its social significance is also emphasized. "Because of its appeal to the sense of justice, if properly planned and administered, no important tax is better qualified than the income tax to minimize social friction and promote social co-operation." E. L. BOGART.

The History of the Woman's Peace Party. By MARIE LOUISE DEGEN, Maryland College for Women. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1939, pp. 266, xiv, \$2.50.) The Woman's Peace Party took shape in 1915 as the result of the decision of leaders in the suffrage, social service, and allied movements to co-operate with women in other countries for the formation of a neutral conference for continuous mediation in the interest of an early and durable peace. Dr. Degen describes the background, the immediate origin, and the career through the Versailles settlement of the Woman's Peace Party, subsequently known as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. She also relates the efforts to influence "public opinion" and statesmen not only in the United States but in other countries both neutral and belligerent. The women's crusade against the rising tide of militarism in 1915 and 1916 and against participation in the World War receives, together with the Ford Peace Ship, ample treatment. Dr. Degen has used to good advantage the manuscript records in the Jane Addams Peace Collection at Swarthmore and the printed materials from the pacifist ranks. For the full interpretation of one of the participants we must, however, await the forthcoming memoirs of Rosika Schwimmer. Miss Degen has also used the published reminiscences of statesmen, the records of congressional hearings, and the periodical and newspaper press. Her thoroughly documented work is not, perhaps, as vivid and dramatic as some of the materials might warrant, but it is judicious in tone and a valuable contribution to the history of the peace movement. The concluding pages contain some provocative reflections on the relation of the pacifist struggle in the first World War to the continuing conflict between the desire for peace and freedom. MERLE CURTI.

A Short History of the American Negro. By BENJAMIN BRAWLEY. Fourth revised edition. (New York, Macmillan, 1939, pp. xv, 288, \$2.00.)

Thomas Bray's Associates and their Work among the Negroes. By EDGAR LEGARE PENNINGTON. [Reprinted from the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for October, 1938.] (Worcester, the Society, 1939, pp. 95.)

Race Relations and the Race Problem: A Definition and an Analysis. EDGAR T. THOMPSON, Editor. [A Duke University Centennial Publication.] (Durham, Duke University Press, 1939, pp. xv, 338, \$3.50.) In one of the essays of which this book is composed a contributor writes: "We have characterized the beliefs about the Negro as ideological. By this we mean that the outlook and conceptual orientation are an expression of white-caste consciousness in its effort to legitimize prevailing or desired race relations" (p. 170). This reviewer takes it that what is meant is that in the white Southerner's views about Negroes the wish is father to the thought. Here, as often elsewhere in this volume, one is tempted to ask, "If that's what you mean, why don't you say so?" The chapters of most interest to historians of the South will probably be the fifth and sixth, on racial antagonism, and the seventh, on the plantation background of race relations.

PAUL LEWINSON.

Labor Policy under Democracy. By CLAY PACKER MALICK. (Boulder, University of Colorado, 1939, pp. 130, \$1.00.)

American State Government and Administration. By AUSTIN F. MACDONALD. Revised edition. (New York, Crowell, 1940, pp. xii, 639, \$3.75.) "The chapters on business, labor, welfare, and revenues have been almost completely rewritten. A new chapter has been added on interstate relations. Appropriate sections have been devoted to new state activities".

The Constitution of the United States at the End of One Hundred Fifty Years. With an Introduction by HUGH EVANDER WILLIS. (Bloomington, Indiana University, 1939, pp. 72, 75 cents.) This work includes the "original Constitution, the formal amendments, and that part of the Constitution made by the Supreme Court and custom, as found in the Supreme Court Reports, arranged so far as possible according to the analysis found in the original Constitution".

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- ALLAN B. COLE. Captain David Porter's Proposed Expedition to the Pacific and Japan, 1815. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, Mar.
- JOHN GILBERT REID. Taft's Telegram to Root, July 29, 1905. *Ibid.*

NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

Handbook of the Linguistic Geography of New England. By HANS KURATH, with the collaboration of MARCUS L. HANSEN, JULIA BLOCH, BERNARD BLOCH. [Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada, sponsored by the American Counsel of Learned Societies.] (Providence, Brown University, 1939, pp. xii, 240, plates 2, \$5.00.) Assembled in one chapter of this handbook are the major facts of the settlement and population growth of New England and a bibliography of New England's history. Only sixty pages are occupied by this material, but they should draw to the book anyone interested in American population history or the local history of New England, whether or not he has intense interest in the variations of American speech. Historians would do well to begin their reading with chapter III, which certainly will make a contribution to their thought. Otherwise they may be frightened away by the linguistic paraphernalia. The uninitiated should save chapter IV, on "The Phonetic Alphabet and Other Symbols", for a rainy day when the mind is at peace. The stuff of which the atlas is made is described in chapter V, on "Work Sheets", which is generally instructive as to well-organized questionnaire and "field work" procedure. Having inoculated himself with chapters III and V, the historian can and should read the rest of this eclectic volume with pleasure and profit. Among impressive points are the stamp of provenience on dialect, the characterization of relics and innovations in speech, and the differentiation of eastern and western New England, each again having two parts, running north and south. Your reviewer is much impressed with both the written work and the thoroughly co-ordinated research and interpretation which it describes and summarizes. His only criticism relates to the comparative disregard of possible cleavage north and south between old and newer New

England. Draw a line from a little north of Stockbridge, Massachusetts, to a little north of Portland and you have separated the country settled before 1750 from that settled thereafter. Considering the crossing of lines of secondary migration and the timing of arrival of certain new stocks, does not that make a break worth emphasizing?

HOWARD F. BARKER.

The New Green Mountain Songster: Traditional Folk Songs of Vermont. Collected, transcribed, and edited by HELEN HARTNESS FLANDERS, ELIZABETH FLANDERS BALLARD, GEORGE BROWN, and PHILLIPS BARRY. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1939, pp. xx, 278, \$3.50.)

The Educational History of Old Lyme, Connecticut, 1635-1935. By MAY HALL JAMES. (New Haven, published for New Haven Colony Historical Society by Yale University Press, 1939, pp. viii, 259, \$3.00.)

History of Milford, Connecticut, 1639-1939. Compiled and written by the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Projects Administration for the State of Connecticut. [The Milford Tercentenary Committee, Inc.] (New Haven, W.P.A., 1939, pp. xii, 204, \$1.75.) Mrs. James's book is less an educational history of Old Lyme than a history of that part of Saybrook which became Old Lyme, with emphasis upon education. In retelling the story of the puzzling Warwick patent and the settling of Saybrook the author has followed Winthrop's *History of New England* and the work of C. M. Andrews. "My brother Peter", mentioned by Winthrop, was not Peter Winthrop (p. 10), however, but the Reverend Hugh Peter. The book is well written and deserves a place among the better Connecticut town histories. Milford is without contemporary town records before 1678. Even the date of the first purchase of land from the Indians, February 12, 1638/39, occurs in an Indian deed dated 1682. Under these circumstances the records of the church in the handwriting of Peter Prudden become doubly important. Yet the compilers of the history of Milford pass over in silence the evidence in those records that the town was settled not in the fall of 1639 but between February 9, 1639/40, when Hannah Buckingham was admitted to the church at New Haven, and March 8, 1639/40, when William East was admitted to the church at Milford. They have failed to grasp the significance of Puritan theocracy. The Milford church was gathered by "seven pillars" at New Haven on August 22, 1639. Richard Miles and James Prudden were admitted to membership at New Haven on October 13, 1639. On November 20, 1639, there were not forty-four members (p. 7) but nine. The forty-four free planters were potential settlers of the town, not churchmembers. After the removal to Milford newcomers were not required to join the church (p. 18) but gained admission only after prolonged scrutiny by the elect. The tercentenary history is a useful survey of a Connecticut town over a three-hundred-year period, but it is not the ultimate history of Milford.

ISABEL M. CALDER.

The Poetical Works of Edward Taylor. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by THOMAS H. JOHNSON. (New York, Rockland Editions, 1939, pp. 231, \$6.00.) Had historians written for two centuries about English Puritanism in complete ignorance of the poems of Milton and had his poems just now been discovered, historians no less than students of literature would be compelled to undertake several revisions of judgment. Not that the poet could be taken as wholly representative or typical of Puritanism, but in the course of giving expression in artistic form to any of its tendencies or values he would be bound to make explicit some of its hitherto hidden implications. To compare small things with great, Mr. Johnson's discovery of the poems of Edward Taylor has provided

students of New England Puritanism with the material for an analogous revaluation. Taylor's life was not eventful, and in all external respects he might stand as the prototype of the New England country parson, except that he had the wit and inspiration to pour out his belief and hopes and fears in verse as well as in his sermons. His writings were a purely private indulgence, however, and he left orders that they should never be published, an injunction which Mr. Johnson has rightly felt at liberty to disobey two hundred years after the author's death. The discovery will certainly require the rewriting of our literary histories to the extent that Taylor will be recognized as the most authentic poetic voice in the American colonies before the Revolution. On its technical side the verse suggests many interesting reflections, particularly as Taylor seemed insensible to the fashions prevailing in England during his own day and drew upon those of the early part of the century, even though his models were generally Anglicans rather than Puritans. On the side of content these verses, although not great poetry, are important as furnishing a passionate and direct revelation of the innermost spirit of Puritan New England. PERRY MILLER.

The Papers of Sir William Johnson. Volume IX. Prepared for publication by ALMON W. LAUBER, of the Division of Archives and History. Alexander C. Flick, Director and State Historian. (Albany, University of the State of New York, 1939, pp. xiv, 970, \$3.25.) The documents in this volume fall naturally into three periods: King George's War, the era of comparative peace (1748-54), and the Seven Years' War to the middle of 1758. Their central theme is Indian administration in all its ramifications, including diplomacy, trade, and the various aspects of management during a critical period of colonial history. In addition to the correspondence of Johnson with such Indian, military, and colonial officials as Clinton, Claus, Shirley, Braddock, Loudoun, Abercromby, Bradstreet, Pownall, Wentworth, and others are the records of transactions of more than seventy Indian conferences, no one of which has hitherto been published in full. The volume embodies the results of prolonged searches by Dr. Flick and his associates for papers with which to supplement the eight volumes of *The Papers of Sir William Johnson* already published, seven of which have been reviewed in this journal (XXVIII, 758-60; XXXI, 584-85; XXXIII, 191-92; XXXIV, 393-94; XXXVIII, 167-68). It is therefore in reality the beginning of a new series. The dispersion of the papers of Sir William Johnson is well illustrated by the provenance of those incorporated in the present publication, of which some 450 have not heretofore been reproduced. Approximately 150 of this number were found in the Huntington Library; 112 in the Canadian Archives; 90 in the New York State Library, consisting mainly of additional items salvaged from the original Johnson collection; 44 in the William L. Clements Library; 19 in the John E. Wyman collection, Fonda, New York; and 13 in the Public Record Office, London. Some twenty other documents were derived from sixteen other widely scattered private and public repositories. The volume evidences the highest standards of scholarship on the part of Dr. Lauber. One notes with regret, however, the absence of an index.

CLARENCE E. CARTER.

Eleazar Wheelock, Founder of Dartmouth College. By JAMES DOW McCALLUM. (Hanover, Dartmouth College, 1939, pp. ix, 236, \$3.50.) This is a workmanlike biography based mainly upon the numerous Wheelock manuscripts in the Baker Library. It is written sympathetically but without effort to romanticize its subject. (The "five hundred gallons of New England rum" in the Dartmouth song shrink to reasonable proportions.) It does not attempt to duplicate Pro-

fessor L. B. Richardson's study of Wheelock as an educator and indeed devotes relatively less attention to Wheelock's culminating achievement as the founder of a wilderness college than to the Yale student of moderate intellectual gifts, the orthodox clergyman verging dangerously upon "enthusiasm" and his role in the Great Awakening, the Lebanon pastor in his troubled economic relations with his flock, and especially the organizer of Indian education and Indian missionary effort in the years of Moor's Charity School. Much of the latter story has already been made known by Professor McCallum's publication of *The Letters of Eleazar Wheelock's Indians* (1932). Wheelock's "mental configuration" comes to sharper focus: his essential piety, his patience and mildness with his Indians as well as his occasional cantankerousness, and the futility of his efforts to train the Indians of the New York-New England frontiers upon a mistaken plan. His administrative talents are established and also the failure of his design prior to the removal to New Hampshire. The author recognizes the political as well as the pious motives in Wheelock's Indian program but seems to underestimate Sir William Johnson's truer perception of realities in his account of the clash with the Connecticut clergyman. Wheelock's vacillations on the eve of the Revolution are made less than clear. Professor McCallum, however, has produced a useful biography of a significant minor figure and has illuminated especially the history of the Great Awakening, the life of the country churches, and aspects of the eighteenth century frontier.

VERNER W. CRANE.

Jedediah Barber, 1787-1876: A Footnote to the History of the Military Tract of Central New York. By HERBERT BARBER HOWE. [The New York State Historical Association Series.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1939, pp. xviii, 237, \$3.50.) As stated in the preface, this is "a case history of one of the many New Englanders who went westward at the turn of the eighteenth century". It is an important contribution to the history of the westward movement and the early settlements of central New York, and it is also valuable for the research worker in economic history interested in the development of a "typical community" before village economy was superseded by urban business domination. In 1804 Jedediah Barber traveled from Hebron, Connecticut, by way of Albany to Onondaga. Finally he located in Homer, one of the townships in the military tract, and became an influential village merchant-trader, the proprietor of the Great Western Store as well as a farmer, unsuccessful railroad promoter, prominent trustee of the Cortland Academy, and banker. The store records and newspaper advertising show the wide variety of goods carried, the kind of management, price ranges, moneylending, barter, and credit arrangements, and the effects of improved transportation facilities. Barber's Banking House furnishes an example of the unfortunate practices which were possible in a private bank operated without trained managers and government supervision. His contributions and services to religious, educational, and other community enterprises indicate the philanthropic interests of a village capitalist in the middle nineteenth century. Because of the author's chief concern with Jedediah Barber and his family, he naturally does not give much consideration to the problems and activities of the less privileged groups in the village. In a foreword Mr. Fox pays a tribute to the author's thoroughness in investigating the appropriate sources and in constructing the biography. The book includes an annotated bibliography and a good index as well as interesting illustrations and helpful appendixes. RUTH LOVING HIGGINS.

Elizabeth Lloyd and the Whittiers: A Budget of Letters. Edited by THOMAS FRANKLIN CURRIER. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1939, pp. xviii, 146,

\$3.00.) This little volume really forms a supplement to the collection which was brought out by Marie V. Denervaud less than twenty years ago under the title *Whittier's Unknown Romance: Letters to Elizabeth Lloyd* and which outlined the story of a love affair that did not culminate because the poet resented some derogatory remarks about Quakers. As many of the new letters stand without summaries of those previously published, they convey little to anyone. For example, three letters written by Whittier to Miss Lloyd in the months of May, June, and July, 1859, deal with inconsequential matters. Taken out of their context they signify nothing. But if read in their proper sequence with other letters to her by the poet, written when a whole world of emotions had toppled about him and his beloved, they take on entirely new meaning. Mr. Currier, whose scholarship is unquestionable, should have prefixed to these three letters more helpful and appropriate remarks than he has done. In fact he should have reprinted even *in toto* some of the formerly published letters, preceding and following these, to preserve the continuity of the story, as he does in the earlier part of the volume. Imagination is no less requisite in scholarship than accuracy of research. Instead of a thrilling love story we have isolated letters with scholarly annotation.

ALBERT MORDELL.

Fare to Midlands: Forgotten Towns of Central New Jersey. By HENRY CHARLTON BECK. (New York, Dutton, 1939, pp. 456, \$5.00.)

Te-a-o-ga: Annals of a Valley. By ELSIE MURRAY. (Athens, Pennsylvania, Tioga Point Museum, 1939, pp. 64, 53 cents.)

The History of an Advertising Agency: N. W. Ayer & Son at Work, 1869-1939. By RALPH M. HOWER, Assistant Professor of Business History, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University. [Harvard Studies in Business History.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1939, pp. xxxv, 652, \$4.00.) In 1869 a pious young Yankee set up in business as an advertising agent at Philadelphia. By keeping everlastingly at it—his agency's slogan—he achieved and maintained leadership in his field. When he died he left a fortune, an institution (his agency), and a record deserving at least a good-sized footnote in the commercial history of his period. Professor Hower has supplied that footnote in a carefully documented volume of more than six hundred pages. Through the co-operation of the management of the N. W. Ayer & Son's Agency he had access to practically all of the existing records of the firm. The organization provided working quarters. Financial support by Wilfred W. Fry, president of the agency and son-in-law of F. W. Ayer, made possible the years of research and final publication of the work. Fortunately those in charge of the Harvard Studies in Business History are not primarily concerned with the production of memorial volumes. The book is a history of a noteworthy business institution rather than a biography of the founder. As such it is a useful source of information concerning an important but generally unknown cog in the marketing machine. Professor Hower has given a workmanlike account of the evolving organization, the expanding functions, and the increasing social significance of the agency system as epitomized by one fairly representative firm.

H. K. NIXON.

Guide to Depositories of Manuscript Collections in Pennsylvania. Bulletin No. 774 (No. 4 of Historical Commission Series). Compiled by the Historical Records Survey, Division of Professional and Service Projects, Works Progress Administration. Edited by MARGARET SHERBURNE ELIOT and SYLVESTER K. STEVENS. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1939, pp. vi, 126, free to historians and libraries.) This is the first volume to appear in a projected series

of fifty volumes of guides to depositories of manuscript collections in the United States compiled by the Historical Records Survey. It lists 167 depositories in entries arranged alphabetically by the names of the towns in which they are situated and then by the names of the depositories. Each entry consists of two main parts: data concerning the history, administration, facilities, and policy with reference to the accumulation of manuscripts of the agency; and a brief statement of the nature and scope of its manuscript holdings with data concerning their quantity, arrangement, cataloging, and availability. References to other sources of information are sometimes appended. The twenty-page index appears to be reasonably adequate. Although the amount of the holdings varies from two or three individual documents to the approximately ten million items in the State Archives, the length of the entries varies only from a quarter of a page to a page and a half. This discrepancy is doubtless justified by the fact that the Survey plans to compile and publish detailed guides to the collections in the principal depositories, a fact that is not brought out in the book. An introduction containing some general discussion of the character and distribution of the depositories and of the nature and treatment of their holdings, together with explanations of the terms "depositories", "manuscript collections", and "holdings", would have been useful. The format of the book could have been improved in a number of ways, especially by printing personal names in bold face rather than in capitals. These are all minor blemishes, however, and the work will be very useful to research students of American and especially of Pennsylvania history.

SOLON J. BUCK.

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 1519-1936. By CARLOS E. CASTAÑEDA. Volume IV, *The Mission Era: The Passing of the Missions, 1762-1782*. [The Knights of Columbus of Texas, Paul J. Foik, Editor.] (Austin, Von Boeckmann-Jones, 1939, pp. 409.) On the same scale, with an even greater reliance on new manuscript sources and with competent reference to a wealth of material in recent publications, Professor Castañeda continues his full-length portrait of the history of Texas. In the earlier volumes (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIV, 919) longer periods of time were covered, and a larger number of monographic studies of the events described were available to the author. In the crowded twenty years covered in the present volume a noteworthy enrichment from manuscript sources is to be commended as the supply of available secondary contributions to the subject thins out. Especially worthy of comment is the first complete treatment of the withdrawal of the missionaries of the College of Querétaro and the first attempt at secularization of the Mission Valero. A description of the mission field in 1762 is followed by accounts of the Trinity River occupation of 1746-72, the San Sabá massacre by the Apaches and its aftermath, the founding of the Cañon missions, Rubí's inspection and the reorganization of the frontier, the abandonment of East Texas, the beginnings of Nacogdoches, and the secularization of San Antonio. Throughout, Texan events are related to the movement of the French frontier and to the changed situation that followed the Spanish occupation of Louisiana. The confines of this review do not permit a commentary on details, but it should be pointed out that the writer refutes in convincing fashion the thesis that the missions were "a glorious failure". Use of David Bjork's "Alexander O'Reilly and the Spanish Occupation of Louisiana, 1769-1770", in *New Spain and the Anglo-American West* (1932), I, 165-82, would have softened the view of O'Reilly as an administrator of "grim justice" (p. 211). The maps, index, and bibliography are of the same high standard of excellence set in the preceding volumes.

ARTHUR S. AYTON.

The Cotton Kingdom in Alabama. By CHARLES S. DAVIS. (Montgomery, Alabama State Department of Archives and History, 1939, pp. viii, 233, \$2.50.) Prolonged

and thorough research and thoughtful and intelligent utilization of its results unite here to provide for the student of economic history a treasury of valuable information. Twenty-five pages of bibliographical items, including nearly ten of manuscript material and two and one half of newspapers and contemporary periodicals, witness to the care with which the available sources have been combed for every small fact which will enlarge our knowledge of the institution of slavery as it worked in Alabama. To the reviewer the most rewarding chapters are the three dealing with plantation management, the purchase and care of slaves, and the transportation and export of cotton. The first of these admirably supplements the work of U. B. Phillips and J. S. Bassett. Here are to be found instructions to overseers, details concerning salaries and contracts, and accounts of the daily routine of a plantation. The second adds material on the feeding and housing of the slaves, the care of their health, and the attitude of the owners to family relationships. The third provides a picture, unusual in its detail, of the development of transportation in a single area and shows how much work remains to be done in many sections of the United States before our knowledge of the relation between methods of transportation and growth of production and trade approaches accuracy. By the way the reader picks up many interesting scraps: a mechanical cotton picker offered for sale in 1856; some of the problems of Muscle Shoals in the thirties; the last attempt to bring slaves from Africa into Alabama; information on scales of living, the cost of living, and soil exhaustion. In fact there is something here for every student of Southern history. And the end papers are as entertaining as any map of a medieval manor.

ELIZABETH DONNAN.

The Southern Poor-White from Lubberland to Tobacco Road. By SHIELDS McILWAIN. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1939, pp. xxv, 274, \$2.50.) The author of this volume explains his purpose as trying "to tell the social story of the poor-whites and then to show its literary treatment in different periods". Lubberland is the name given by William Byrd to the eighteenth century frontier of Virginia and North Carolina in his *History of the Dividing Line*. *Tobacco Road* is, of course, the title of Erskine Caldwell's twentieth century version of the Georgia cracker. In tracing his chronicle through two centuries the author has discovered much unfamiliar source material. Of particular value are the references to the neglected work of authors who have been all too neatly pigeonholed. Here, for instance, Joel Chandler Harris escapes from Uncle Remus. But this thorough scholarship, valuable as it is for students in search of source materials, makes for a questionable distribution of emphasis. Mark Twain is omitted from a volume that purports to be a history of the literary treatment of the poor white. What of Huck's father and the gang that loiter through the first chapter of *The Gilded Age*? In spite of omissions, however, the book makes a real contribution to the kind of literary history which in a special field presents the relationship of writers to the social attitudes and literary fashions of their time. It is regrettable that the author seems to regard *Tobacco Road* (1932) as rounding out, once and for all, the literary portrait of the poor white. As Caldwell's own later work and the widely popular *Grapes of Wrath* have demonstrated, the poor white has entered upon another cycle which may be of profound social and literary significance.

A. M. BREBNER.

Soldier and Servant: John Freeman Young, Second Bishop of Florida. By EDGAR LEGARE PENNINGTON. Part I. (Hartford, Church Missions Publishing Company, 1939, pp. 63, 50 cents.)

One Hundred Years at V. M. I. By Colonel WILLIAM COUPER. With a Foreword by General George C. Marshall. Volumes I and II. (Richmond, Garrett and Massie, 1939, pp. ix, 360, vii, 345, \$6.00 for both volumes.) These volumes comprise the first half of a valuable work. Volumes III and IV are announced for publication this year. If they measure up to the standard of the first two, Colonel Couper will have produced a distinct contribution to the history of education in the United States, to the history of the South, and to the history of the Civil War. Volume I carries us from the organization of Rockbridge County in 1777 through the beginning and development of the school to 1859. In the second volume we have the narrative of the participation of the cadet corps in the John Brown affair, the outbreak of war, the McDowell campaign of 1862, Jackson's death at Chancellorsville, Averell's raids of 1863, and the Valley Campaign of 1864, with the battle of New Market as the climax. By the quotation of many documents and letters from the files of the institute, speeches of various notables, and extracts from diaries, local papers, etc., Colonel Couper gives us a vivid and intimate account of the origin, organization, and progress of V. M. I. The general reader may find the quotations too numerous and too long, but the alumni will enjoy every word, and the historian should be grateful that many hitherto unknown or inaccessible sources—often unique—have thus been preserved and made available. A very interesting item is the contention (II, 161, n. 47) that "Stonewall" Jackson derived his sobriquet from the brigade and not vice versa. There are a few minor inaccuracies and two which should be corrected: Kansas was not admitted into the Union in 1858 (I, 318) but in 1861; Houston was not the "only" President of the Texan Republic (II, 158), not even the first. The volumes are illustrated by numerous photographs, three diagrams, and two good maps.

MILLEGE L. BONHAM, JR.

Son of Carolina: A Segment of the American Scene. By AUGUSTUS WHITE LONG. (Durham, Duke University Press, 1939, pp. x, 280, \$3.00.) Fully half of this short, homespun autobiography is devoted to a youth spent in Chapel Hill during two decades following the Civil War. The early chapters are an entertaining compound of "Tarheel" family tradition, local folklore, and reminiscences of boyhood. They are followed by an interesting account of the churches, schools, and society of that village after its university reopened in 1875. This section is concluded by a lively description of student life at the University of North Carolina in the early eighties. The remainder of the volume contains an unsystematic, almost superficial account of its author's career. Impelled toward journalism by a student editorship and a summer's work for Walter Hines Page on the *Raleigh Weekly State Chronicle* (1884), he was forced into the teaching of English by family necessities. Professor Long's reminiscences add to our knowledge of Page's domestic life and contain shrewd comments upon higher education at old Trinity and Wofford colleges in the eighties and in the new graduate schools of Johns Hopkins and Harvard. His recollections of Princeton College, where he spent fourteen years (1902-16) in the English department, are suggestive but disappointingly brief. A provocative analysis of Woodrow Wilson's personality while president of Princeton and governor of New Jersey is not entirely convincing in view of the author's limited association with him. The volume concludes with a realistic discussion of contemporary North Carolina, to which the author returned in recent years.

CHESTER MCA. DESTLER.

Tar Heel Editor. By JOSEPHUS DANIELS. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1939, pp. xix, 544, \$3.50.) Josephus Daniels came to Washington in 1893 at the age of thirty-one, taking a minor job in the second Cleveland Ad-

ministration as offering better money than his small city journalism in North Carolina. He had already managed and edited local newspapers and trained himself for the larger career when he should return to Raleigh and gratify an old ambition as editor of the *News and Observer*. In the three future volumes which he promises to produce he will deal with his rise as a political power in North Carolina, with his eight years as Secretary of the Navy, and with the New Deal, of which he is now ambassador in Mexico. In this first volume he draws upon his scrapbooks and his recollections of people and the yarns they told and makes a boring through the Reconstruction South to the very bottom of the depression of the sixties. He reveals many of the forces which made him sympathetic to the Farmers' Alliance when it emerged and to the Populists and prepared him to become a worshipper of William Jennings Bryan. But Bryan and Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt do not as yet appear. The later volumes ought to do more than make a boring and should give new checks upon the history of the last forty years. This is a good beginning. Ambassador Daniels has a remarkable memory for the precise words with which his friends engaged him in conversation more than a generation ago. F. L. PAXSON.

History of the North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering of the University of North Carolina, 1889-1939. By DAVID A. LOCKMILLER. With Foreword by Frank P. Graham. (Raleigh, General Alumni Association of the College, 1939, pp. xvii, 310, \$2.50.)

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

The Kentucky Lincolns on Mill Creek. By R. GERALD MCMURTRY. (Harrogate, Department of Lincolniana, Lincoln Memorial University, 1939, pp. viii, 78, \$3.00.) In the book before us the author describes "The Lincoln-Mill Creek Country", a small region isolated even today from the outside world, where Lincoln's family settled in 1803; the purchase for cash by Thomas Lincoln of a 238-acre farm in this region; the historic "Lincoln-Mill Creek Trail" through northern Hardin County followed by the Lincolns in 1816 when they migrated from Kentucky to Indiana; the farm purchased by Nancy's husband, William Brumfield, where it is believed Thomas Lincoln and his family moved when

he sold his farm on Mill Creek in 1814; and the "Lincoln-Mill Creek Cemetery", an almost inaccessible three-acre tract where several Lincolns were buried. Nine illustrations give vividness and definiteness to the narrative. By his study the author has successfully forged a missing link in our knowledge of Lincoln's family and its environs, and the work has been so carefully done that it will not need to be done again. He hoped to make a contribution to Lincoln literature, and he has succeeded. His objective treatment with scholarly documentation tends to build up one's respect for Lincoln's father. The citations to authorities and helpful explanatory notes are placed at the bottom of the pages, where these ought to be in a work of this kind. The format of the book is characterized by suitability and attractiveness.

WILLIAM H. ELLISON.

The Formation of the State of Oklahoma, 1803-1906. By ROY GITTINGER. New edition. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1939, pp. xii, 309, \$2.50.) This is a new edition of a work which was published in 1917 as Volume VI of the University of California Publications in History. "The bibliography lists not only works that were used in the preparation of the study, but also includes a supplementary list of important publications issued in the last twenty years. The more recent works have not affected essentially the conclusions here presented" (p. viii).

Cincinnati: Story of the Queen City. By CLARA LONGWORTH DE CHAMBRUN. (New York, Scribner's, 1939, pp. xi, 342, \$3.75.) This is a popular account, with numerous excellent illustrations, written by a daughter of the eminent Longworth family, which began to occupy a leading position in Cincinnati as early as 1803. The author was married in 1901 to a French count and army officer, but she retains an affectionate interest in the city of her fathers and of her girlhood. In this volume the varied activities of the Queen City are considered, chapters being included on "Early Cincinnati Artists" and "Stage and Stars" as well as on economic and political matters. Attention is given not only to local celebrities of bygone generations but also to prominent leaders of recent times, such as Murray Seasongood, Clarence A. Dykstra, and Bernard Kroger. Considerably more than two thirds of the book, however, is devoted to the period before the close of the Civil War, doubtless an unfortunate emphasis, although Cincinnati's relative position among American municipalities was greater in ante-bellum days than it has been since. There are interesting personal reminiscences of upper-class Cincinnati society during the past half century. It is claimed that in preparing the work, the countess had access "to documents and letters not hitherto available", but little effective use has been made of such materials. A few extracts from unpublished private correspondence are included, but their usefulness is minimized by a total lack of citations. Dates are not always accurate, and other errors of form or fact are found. Thus, Winthrop Sargent's name is misspelled Sergeant (p. 57), and Henry Massie, not his brother Nathaniel, was the founder of Portsmouth, Ohio (p. 74). In short, the "Queen City" awaits the attention of the critical scholar who can present its notable past after the manner in which Gerald M. Capers, jr., has recently treated that of the city of Memphis.

FRANCIS PHELPS WEISENBURGER.

Marcy & the Gold Seekers: The Journal of Captain R. B. Marcy, with an Account of the Gold Rush over the Southern Route. By GRANT FOREMAN. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1939, pp. xiv, 433, \$3.00.) This volume has considerable value for those interested in the 1849 gold rush to California. Much has been written on the "rush" over the northern trails, but relatively little

attention has been given to travel over the southern route from Arkansas through the Indian Territory and Texas to Santa Fé. Although the southern route was not used so extensively as northern routes, yet thousands of Forty-niners trekked over it to the California gold fields. Early in 1849 the War Department ordered Captain Randolph B. Marcy to make a survey of the route and provide a military escort for a large party of California emigrants. Leaving Fort Smith, Arkansas, in April, Captain Marcy spent the rest of the year reconnoitering in the country between Arkansas and New Mexico. Upon his return to "civilization" he prepared an elaborate report for Washington, which was published by the Secretary of War in 1850. It is this report (*Journal*) together with other diaries and contemporary materials that Dr. Foreman has reproduced here and edited. Marcy's *Journal*, which constitutes the larger portion of the volume, is of major significance to persons interested in the early history of the Southwest. It is a discerning, vivid, and human document faithfully describing the nature, resources, and inhabitants of the country. The social anthropologist as well as the historian will find it of use. The *Journal* is less important as a source for information on the southern route as a highway for Forty-niners than the other journals and contemporary materials included in the volume. From these latter documents the reader glimpses something of the hopes, fears, and trials of some of the adventurous pioneers who crossed the plains to California via the southern route. The editing of the volume has been done with meticulous care and discrimination.

JOHN PERRY PRITCHETT.

Minnesota Farmers' Diaries: William R. Brown, 1845-46, Mitchell Y. Jackson, 1852-63. With an Introduction and Notes by RODNEY C. LOEHR. (Saint Paul, Minnesota Historical Society, 1939, pp. ix, 247, \$2.50.) Mr. Loehr and the Minnesota Historical Society deserve commendation for this book. First of all, it represents a significant type of study of American agriculture and rural life which, by presenting individual experience, can supply some of that reality which general studies of large forces and factors can never give. As Professor Theodore C. Blegen says in his very effective preface: "Here, in entries marked by simplicity and honesty, is the concrete tale of pioneering, of community life on the frontier, of persons and places. Here are chronicled the farmers' 'work and days', in the same immemorial cycle that Hesiod sang of in ancient times." Brown's diary is particularly valuable as an early source on Minnesota history and Jackson's as the observations of a man of more than average intelligence and of keen insight into the life he records. Mr. Loehr has done a careful and intelligent job of editing. His introduction gives short biographies of the two diarists and describes conditions in Minnesota in the time and place with which the diarists are concerned. The explanatory material and additional facts given in footnotes to the diaries enhance very considerably the value of those records.

HENRIETTA M. LARSON.

Untersuchungen zur Methode und Technik der deutschamerikanischen Wanderungsforschung an Hand eines Vergleichs der Volkszählungslisten der Township Westphalia, Clinton County, Michigan, vom Jahre 1860 mit Auswanderungsakten des Kreises Adenau (Rheinland). By JOSEPH SCHEBEN. [Forschungen zur rheinischen Auswanderung.] (Bonn a. Rh., Ludwig Röhrscheid, 1939, pp. x, 155, 9.50 M.) Westphalia, a Catholic agricultural community in Clinton County, Michigan, was founded in 1836 by German immigrants from the neighborhood of Adenau, in the Rhine country. Apparently, Dr. Joseph Schafer, whose own work in the *Wisconsin Domesday Book* studies has contributed significant techniques for the study of population movements, suggested the

desirability of making this detailed investigation. Dr. Scheben has compared photostats of the census lists of 1860 for the Michigan settlement with the emigration records preserved in the German communities from which the settlers came. The task is primarily one of critically examining and comparing family names and family units. The rapid change that occurs in the United States in immigrant family names is notorious; so are the orthographic errors and phonetic spellings perpetrated by incompetent census takers. The German records, including passports, estate, church, and other personal records, are also sometimes imperfect and need careful checking. Moreover, not all who get emigration papers use them. Dr. Scheben has developed an ingenious technique in working his way through this mass of data, and he uses it with caution and scientific restraint. In a long list of family names he has frankly distinguished between positive and probable identifications. His charts and maps are useful, and some "America letters" have been included in an appendix. Students of immigration will be interested in the techniques so minutely described in this monograph. They could be profitably applied, as the author suggests, to a great co-operative enterprise by European and American scholars to check United States census lists with European emigration records, and what Dr. Scheben has so competently done for this little Michigan settlement should be done on a much larger scale.

CARL WITTKÉ.

A Builder of the West: The Life of General William Jackson Palmer. By JOHN S. FISHER. With a Chapter on General Palmer's Work in Mexico by CHASE MELLE. (Caldwell, Caxton Printers, 1939, pp. 332, \$3.50.) General Palmer presents the unusual picture of a Quaker who entered the Northern army during the Civil War and rose to the rank of brevet brigadier-general before the age of thirty. After the war his engineering interests led him toward the opportunities of the West, and he was responsible for the building of the Denver and Rio Grande. Of lesser importance was his connection with the Kansas Pacific, his construction of the Mexican National, and his founding of Colorado Springs. The present book was made possible by the availability of the Palmer correspondence, which is quoted extensively. The account is entirely sympathetic to Palmer. The style is simple and clear. Mr. Fisher might have improved his work a good deal if he had been willing to collect more material. Some phases of the life and work of Palmer remain unnecessarily obscure, and there are a number of needless factual errors. In spite of these defects, however, the book is in general a readable narrative which presents the outstanding characteristics and work of General Palmer.

ROBERT E. RIEGEL.

My Life on the Frontier, 1882-1897: Death Knell of a Territory and Birth of a State. By MIGUEL ANTONIO OTERO. Volume II. (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1939, pp. xiv, 306, \$5.00.) Four years have elapsed since the issue by a now defunct publishing house of Volume I of ex-Governor Otero's autobiography, but we are fortunate that a way was found to publish the concluding volume. As Dr. George P. Hammond says in his foreword, "Not all readers will agree with everything Mr. Otero has written . . . but few will deny that he has drawn a striking picture of that phase of life in New Mexico of which he was a leading actor". Miguel Otero ("Miggy" to his intimates) was a witness of and in many instances a participant in many of the events that made New Mexico the focus of law and disorder, of land grants and mining ventures, of blood and thunder, of politics rampant, from which the territory ultimately emerged as a full-fledged state, although not with its garments

wholly cleansed. The author presents his family life, his personal experiences and observations, and much of that which made New Mexico what it was in territorial days, when he served as governor from 1897 to 1906. The book sheds much light on an alluring part of our country, the veritable frontier of civilization during Otero's lifetime.

F. W. HODGE.

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LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY

J. W. Caughey

A Reference Index to Twelve Thousand Spanish American Authors: A Guide to the Literature of Spanish America. By RAYMOND L. GRISMER, University of Minnesota. [Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association Publications.] (New York, H. W. Wilson, 1939, pp. xvi, 150, \$4.50.) An alphabetical list of authors, mostly literary but including historians, with indication of nationality, dates of birth and death when known, pseudonyms, and with page references to works containing bibliographical and biographical information. Since many of the works covered have no index, the utility of such a guide is all the greater.

El Capitán Hernando de Soto, gobernador de la isla Fernandina de Cuba, adelantado de la Florida. By Dr. JOSÉ MANUEL PÉREZ CABRERA. [Academia de la Historia de Cuba.] (Havana, Imprenta "El Siglo XX", A. Muñiz y Hno., 1939, pp. 28.) Commemorating the four hundredth anniversary of De Soto's embarkation for Florida, Dr. Pérez Cabrera offers a documented eulogy of the famous explorer. Emphasis is on the preparations for departure from Cuba.

Roger L'Estrange's "Autobiography": Did the "Translator" dupe the Explorer? By C. L'ESTRANGE EWEN. (Paignton, printed for the author, 31 Marine Drive,